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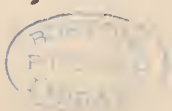
INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE
ALBANY, N. Y., AREA—Part 1

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

JULY 13 AND 14, 1953

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83d CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE ALBANY, N. Y., AREA—Part 1

MONDAY, JULY 13, 1953

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Albany, N. Y.

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a. m., in courtroom No. 1 of the Federal Building, Albany, N. Y., Hon. Bernard W. Kearney (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Bernard W. Kearney (presiding) and Gordon H. Scherer.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk; James A. Andrews, and Earl L. Fuoss, investigators; and Mrs. Rosella Purdy, secretary to counsel.

Mr. KEARNEY. The hearing will be in order.

Mr. Reporter, let the record show that, acting under authority of the resolution establishing the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the chairman has set up a subcommittee for the purpose of conducting hearings in the city of Albany composed of the following members: Hon. Bernard W. Kearney, chairman, the Honorable Gordon Scherer, and the Honorable James B. Frazier, Jr., the first two of whom are present. Mr. Frazier will be here tomorrow afternoon.

The committee is charged by the Congress of the United States with the responsibility of investigating the extent, character and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries, or of a domestic origin, and attacks the principles of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution and all other questions in relation thereto that will aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

It has been fully established by testimony before this and other congressional committees and before the courts of our land that the Communist Party of the United States is part of an international conspiracy, which is being used as a tool or a weapon by a foreign power to promote its own foreign policy and which has for its objective the overthrow of the governments of all non-Communist countries, resorting to the use of force and violence if necessary. This organization cannot live and expand within the United States except by the promulgation and diffusion of subversive and un-American propaganda designed to win adherence to its cause.

The first witness in this hearing will testify regarding certain aspects of the worldwide Communist conspiracy, which should demonstrate what a serious matter it is to permit individuals who are subject to the directives and discipline of the Communist Party to be placed in positions of leadership in any functional organization.

The committee, in its course of investigation, came into possession of reliable information indicating Communist Party activities within the Albany area. The committee decided that this information was of such a character as to merit an investigation to determine its nature, extent, character, and objects.

Many witnesses have appeared before this committee, sitting in various places throughout the United States, and have revealed their experiences as former Communist Party members. Such testimony has added immeasurably to the sum total of the knowledge, character, extent, and objects of Communist activities in this country.

Witnesses from Hollywood, labor unions, the legal profession, medical profession, and other groups have made a great contribution to the defense of our country by disclosing to this committee facts within their knowledge.

In the view of this committee, such testimony should not be held against an individual where it has that character of trustworthiness which convinces one that the witness has completely and finally terminated Communist Party membership and that such testimony has been given in all good faith.

The committee is not concerned with the political beliefs or opinions of any witness who has been called before it. It is concerned only with the facts showing the extent, character, and objects of the Communist Party activities.

In keeping with the long-standing policy of this committee, any individual or organization whose name is mentioned during the course of the hearings in such a manner as to adversely affect them shall have an opportunity to appear before the committee for the purpose of making a denial or explanation of any adverse references.

I would also like at this time, before the beginning of these hearings, to make this announcement to the public: We are here at the discretion of the Congress of the United States, trying to discharge a duty and obligation that has been placed upon us. The public is here by permission of the committee and not by any compulsion. Any attempt or effort on the part of anyone to make a demonstration or audible comment in this hearing room, either favorably or unfavorably, toward the committee's undertaking, or to what any witness may have to say, will not be countenanced by the committee. If such conduct should occur, the officers on duty will be requested to eject the offenders from the hearing room.

Mr. Counsel, are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Call your first witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call as the first witness Mr. Patrick Walsh.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Walsh, will you hold up your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WALSH. I do.

Mr. KEARNEY. Be seated.

TESTIMONY OF PATRICK WALSH

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Walsh, will you state your name, please, sir?

Mr. WALSH. Patrick Walsh.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. WALSH. I was born in Quebec City, Canada, on March the 17th, 1916.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell your last name?

Mr. WALSH. W-a-l-s-h.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Walsh, it is the practice of this committee to explain to every witness that he has the right to be accompanied by counsel and he has the right to consult counsel at any time during the course of his testimony that he may desire to do so. It is noted you do not have counsel with you. Do you desire counsel?

Mr. WALSH. No; I do not desire counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a citizen of the United States, Mr. Walsh?

Mr. WALSH. No; I am a citizen of Canada.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Walsh, the purpose of the committee in having you appear before it is to question you regarding certain aspects of the Communist international conspiracy with which we are informed you are familiar.

I think I should state at the outset it is not the purpose of the committee to inquire into any matter which is strictly a Canadian Government matter, or a Canadian matter. We are concerned only with the international aspects of communism. However, it is necessary, we feel, in order that the committee may properly understand your testimony, that you give to the committee in a general way what your background has been in the Communist Party so that they may properly evaluate your testimony. So, I will ask you to give the committee a brief statement of your experience in the Communist Party, bearing in mind that we do not desire to go into matters in detail which are strictly Canadian matters.

Mr. WALSH. When I was about 17 or 18 years old, I joined the Unemployed Youth Organization in Quebec City; and I was subsequently sent to unemployment camps which we had in Canada at that time, which was something like your CCC camps in the United States, and there I met organizers of the Young Communist League, including Harry Binder, who then persuaded me to join the Young Communist League.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name Binder?

Mr. WALSH. B-i-n-d-e-r.

And then after following courses in Marxism in Montreal, one of my professors being Fred Rose, who was arrested in the Canadian spy trials of 1946 and was tried and sentenced after being found guilty of having conspired to pass on highly secret information to personnel of the Soviet Embassy—and Fred Rose was the one who was responsible for having me sent as a Communist Party organizer to the mining districts of northwestern Quebec—more specifically in the Rouyn and Noranda section.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell it, please?

Mr. WALSH. Rouyn is spelled R-o-u-y-n, and Noranda—N-o-r-a-n-d-a.

I was in that district agitating in the minefields and in the lumber camps for the Workers' Unity League, which was the Communist Party organization at that time in Canada, from 1937 to 1940.

In 1940, I was ordered to enlist in the Canadian Army so as to carry on revolutionary defeatism because the line of the Communist Party at that time was against what they called an imperialist war. I was subsequently dishonorably discharged from the Army about 4 months later because of subversive activities in the course of the stay that I was in the Army.

My next assignment was to infiltrate at the Shipshaw powerhouse project, which was a top-secret war plant being built by the Aluminum Co. of Canada and which had as its purpose—

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name, please?

Mr. WALSH. Shipshaw—S-h-i-p-s-h-a-w. It is situated in northern Quebec, in the Lake St. John district. I believe it is the second greatest powerhouse in the world.

And I went up to Shipshaw on this top assignment, and I was instrumental in getting about 150 top Communists who came to this powerhouse project and who worked for about 2 years without any of the newspapers knowing about it or without any of the public at large being made aware that such a large concentration of Communists were working at the Shipshaw powerhouse.

I wish to state at that time that the Communist Party was declared illegal in Canada, in 1939.

At the outset of the war and in 1941 the Canadian Communists organized a new party called the Labor Progressive Party, which had the same leaders and practically the same program. It was only modified in the sense so as not to run afoul of the War Measures Act, and the name of the organization is more commonly known in Canada as the LPP.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do I understand, then, that the LPP carried on the same functions as the Communist Party of Canada carried on prior to the adoption of the War Measures Act?

Mr. WALSH. Precisely. They carried them on until the party line changed. When the Soviet Union was attacked by the Nazi troops—and that is why our methods were also changed, along with the somersault in the party line, because the imperialist war had become a war of liberation and because the Soviet Union was attacked—we were told that we should all enlist in the Canadian Army; we could all donate our blood to the Red Cross; and we should work overtime without asking for any pay, and we should even break strikes because there was no more question of making any. There was only the question of winning the war in order to help the Soviet Union resist the attack of the Nazi armies.

I do not want to go into detail on my Shipshaw assignment because of the fact that in this particular instance the interests of Canada and the interests of the Soviet Union coincided, and for once the Communists were what we might term patriotic, although they had motives of their own for so acting.

But in 1943 I was ordered again to attempt reenlistment in the Canadian Armed Forces and succeeded in reenlisting and in going overseas; and here again I was in contact with cells of the Communist Party which were very active and very strong in the Canadian Armed

Forces—in the Air Force, in the Navy, and in the Army—and our main task at that time was to carry on the agitation for the opening of a second front, which had been going on ever since 1942.

MR. TAVENNER. I think it would be well for you to tell the committee the nature of the work you did in the armed services in promotion of the Communist Party line of opening the second front.

MR. WALSH. Well, in Great Britain, in 1943, Communist Party members who were in the armed forces used to meet secretly in London, Glasgow, Aldershot, Farnborough, and various other places where the Canadian Army units were concentrated, and there everybody was urged by such top Communists as Harry Binder, whom I mentioned previously, Jerry McManus, Gui Caron, Norman Nerenberg—

MR. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name, please?

MR. WALSH. Gui Caron is spelled G-u-i, and Caron—C-a-r-o-n. Today he is the provincial leader of the LPP.

MR. TAVENNER. And the LPP is the organization which succeeded the Communist Party organization?

MR. WALSH. Exactly. It is the new name of the Communist Party.

And at these meetings we were urged to create agitation in the army for the opening of a second front, and we ascertained by meeting with various Australian and New Zealand Army personnel—naturally the same thing was being carried out by the Communists in all these armies, that is, to carry on the agitation to open up the second front because at that time the Communist Party line everywhere was to the effect that the Red army was being bled to death because it was fighting alone whereas the Allied armies were remaining idle in Great Britain and elsewhere.

We also attended meetings of the Communist Party of Great Britain, which were held publicly, and we also managed to get in on the question periods, which followed these meetings, and here, too, Canadian Communists and American Communists who were often in the audience were very active in clamoring for the opening of the second front.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you become personally acquainted with any of the American members of the Armed Forces in Europe who were engaged in work of that character?

MR. WALSH. Well, I often met members of the Armed Forces in American uniform at meetings, but I do not recall specifically any names except "comrade," which was the term that was used between Canadian and American Communists, because at these meetings we were in the public eye and we came there to discuss and to guide along the party line. So I do not recall the names of any American Communists who participated in these meetings.

Now, to continue, the second front was eventually opened in 1944, and many of us, including myself, who had clamored so long for the opening of this second front—as soon as we found ourselves on the Continent, we began in our spare time to contact the Communist Parties of France and Belgium and to actively take part in various work which French-speaking comrades could do there.

I, myself, was arrested in France in August 1944, near Cannes, and was taken back to England for having spoken at a meeting of the Communist Party of France.

When I returned from the army overseas, I became general organizer of the Canadian Congress of Labor, which is the counterpart of the CIO in the United States of America here, and my nomination to that position was arranged by the Communist Party because of the fact that the Communist Party at that time had considerable influence, having complete control over such CIO unions as the Fur and Leather Workers, the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers, and the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, which then formed an important sector of the Canadian Congress of Labor.

I was general organizer for 6 months, and then I got a new assignment to resign from the Canadian Congress of Labor so that I could participate in a plan which Communists everywhere—in Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States of America, Canada, and other countries—were carrying on, that is, the infiltration of veteran organizations.

I infiltrated into the Canadian Legion, which is the counterpart of your American Legion here, and in 1947 I was elected president of the United Veterans branch of Quebec City, and at the Provincial convention I was elected Provincial vice president, and in that capacity carried on instructions of the Labor Progressive Party so as to implement as much as possible the Communist line at all meetings and discussions.

However, the [Canadian] Legion took drastic steps to weed out the Communists and before I was expelled I received another assignment, and this assignment was to take part in the Canadian seamen's deep-sea strike of 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me stop you there a moment. Did you mean to indicate that you were expelled by the Legion or that you took this assignment before time permitted you to be expelled?

Mr. WALSH. Well, it was quite obvious that I had a rendezvous with expulsion because of the other Communists who had been expelled previously, and I was scheduled to be expelled. So the Communists decided that I would be assigned to other work, and at the same time—it was probably a coincidence—there was this question of the forthcoming CSU—Canadian Seamen's Union strike, where the Canadian Communists particularly wanted me to participate because of my trade union experience and because of my knowledge of the continental Communist Parties in Europe, and also because I could speak both languages, because the Canadian Seamen's Union had brought French-Canadian and English-Canadian seamen among their membership.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then, you say it was at this time, before action had been taken to expell you from the Legion, that you got this new assignment. Who gave you that assignment?

Mr. WALSH. This assignment was given to me by J. B. Salsberg, who was and is the trade union commission director of the Labor Progressive Party, which is the Communist Party, and Salsberg, as trade union commission director, is the Communist who is responsible for switching Communist organizers from one union to another and to be in control, in overall control, of all Communist-dominated unions like the United Electrical Workers; the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers; the Fur and Leather Workers; the Marine Cooks and Stewards, and so on and so forth.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name, please?

Mr. WALSH. The Marine Cooks and Stewards?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; I meant Salsberg.

Mr. WALSH. S-a-l-s-b-e-r-g, and his initials are J. B.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, just what part the Canadian Seamen's Union was expected to play in this strike—whether it was just purely a local strike or whether it was a strike having greater significance than that?

Mr. WALSH. At that time I was not aware of the vastness and the consequences of this strike because, first of all, not having been a seaman I couldn't estimate exactly what consequences a strike would eventually bring about; but I went along and saw Salsberg. We had a meeting in the Communist Party office in Toronto, and at this meeting, among others who attended, were members of the National Trade Union Commission, such well-known Communists—

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. The National Trade Union Commission was what type of an organization?

Mr. WALSH. It is a Communist trade-union section within the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then, I understand that this was not a legitimate trade union, but was a commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALSH. Exactly: a kind of controlled commission to look after the organizers who belonged to the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you give us the name of that commission again?

Mr. WALSH. The trade union commission.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALSH. Of the Labor Progressive Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which was the Communist Party?

Mr. WALSH. Which was the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of Canada?

Mr. WALSH. That's right.

Mr. KEARNEY. May I interrupt at this point, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. At this meeting were there any individuals allowed to be present other than members of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALSH. No; it was a highly secret affair and only the members of the Communist Party—and in this particular instance not one of them had less than 20 years' experience in the Communist Party. They were all top Communist Party organizers.

Mr. KEARNEY. In other words, they were the top echelon of the Communist Party organizers?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, where did this meeting take place?

Mr. WALSH. This meeting took place in the Communist Party building in 83 Christie Street in Toronto.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you fix the date of the meeting, or the approximate date?

Mr. WALSH. Well, it was some time at the beginning of August 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you tell the committee again, please, because I interrupted you, just what occurred at this meeting?

This is the meeting, I understand, which Mr. Salsberg directed your attendance.

Mr. WALSH. Well, to explain to you how the seriousness of this meeting—I will say that some of the people who attended this meeting are

well known among Canadian trade unionists, are old-time Communists, and all of them have been expelled at one time or another from both the AFL and CIO for Communist activities and for faithfully following the Communist Party line. For example, there was George Harris, who is the secretary-treasurer of the United Electrical Workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean who held that position at that time——

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or at the present?

Mr. WALSH. And still holds it at this time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name, please?

Mr. WALSH. Harris—H-a-r-r-i-s.

Duerr Ferguson——

Mr. KEARNEY. Is that of the Canadian branch or——

Mr. WALSH. That is the Canadian district.

Mr. KEARNEY. Canadian district.

Mr. WALSH. Duerr Ferguson, who was formerly the CSU vice-president and is now an organizer for the Fur and Leather Workers' Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the first name, please?

Mr. WALSH. Duerr—D-u-e-r-r; Ferguson—F-e-r-g-u-s-o-n.

At this point I would like to beg the indulgence of the committee for my heavy French accent, because I am more accustomed to speaking French and I have been so long in Europe and in the French-speaking part of Canada that my English might be a little difficult to understand. So, I don't want you to hesitate if I say something I do not make clear enough——

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me suggest that you do not speak quite so rapidly.

Mr. WALSH. Yes; that is all right.

Oscar Roy—Roy is R-o-y—who is a former organizer of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers and who today is the official Communist LPP candidate in the Timmins constituency.

Mr. TAVENNER. Spell Timmins.

Mr. WALSH. Timmins—T-i-m-m-i-n-s.

Now, all these people were all old-time wheelhorses of the Communist Party in Canada. As I mentioned before, all of them have at least 20 years of experience and membership in the Communist Party and in the unions that have been dominated by the Communists, and most of them are known for their allegiance to Moscow's orders rather than to their own membership's needs and requirements.

Now, when I got into Salsberg's office, he spread out a chart of the Atlantic Ocean on the floor, and on this chart there were miniature drawings of all of the ships which were under CSU contract at that time. The Canadian Seamen's Union at that time had a membership of 10,000 and had contracts with the Great Lakes Ship Owners and Deep Sea Ship Owners, and on the Atlantic coast there were about 85 ships that were under CSU contract.

Now, Salsberg had all the names of those ships and he also had a list alongside of each ship which included the complete crew.

Now, some of these lists were typed in black, some were typed in red, and others were underlined. Those that were typed in black were what they called the non-Communist crew members, who were not sufficiently politicized to be in the party. The names that were

typed in red were members of the Marine Club, which is the maritime section of the Communist Party, or the Labor Progressive Party, and Salsberg told me that the underlined ones belonged to the M-Apparat.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell that, please?

Mr. WALSH. Apparat is spelled A-p-p-a-r-a-t.

Mr. TAVENNER. What does that term mean?

Mr. WALSH. Well, to top Communists who were familiar with the Comintern in the days before it was dissolved and replaced by the Cominform, the M-Apparat was the Maritime Apparat, which was the worldwide international organization of top Communist agitators aboard ships and among the dock workers.

I am going to deal at length later on with the new organization which has taken on a new name. So, I do not want to go into too much detail at this moment about the work of these Apparat agents on board the ships.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Witness, I understand that during this whole period that you have testified about and about which you are going to testify, your primary loyalty was to the Communist Party and the Soviet Union and not to the Canadian Government or to the labor unions with which you were affiliated: is that a correct statement?

Mr. WALSH. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you were describing to the committee the explanation that J. B. Salsberg was making to you at the time he had the map of the world on the floor in front of you. Will you proceed, please, sir?

Mr. WALSH. Salsberg explained to me that the CSU deep-sea strike was forthcoming and that it was the desire of the party that I should take an active part in this strike and that I should go on a ship as a seaman and prepare the groundwork in the various ports of Europe in order to be able to be assured of the solidarity of the workers who were also Communist-controlled and to carry on what we call liaison work with the various sectors of the maritime section of the party.

As I pointed out before, Salsberg stressed the fact that I was French-speaking and they were having a little trouble with the French-Canadians who were very anti-Communist and that my presence in the union, both on shore and on ships, would contribute to win over the French-Canadian membership to follow the party line when the time came for a strike.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I ask you at that point: Did I understand that at this meeting with Salsberg these other persons whom you mentioned were present also?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; they were present throughout, but generally it is only Salsberg who spoke—and in this instance Ferguson, who was the CSU vice president, also had a word to say every once in a while, but it was Salsberg who was the main speaker; and generally—I've attended probably hundreds of these trade-union commission meetings and Communist Party discipline always underlines the fact that directives should only be given by the trade-union commission director, which was and still is J. B. Salsberg.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did Mr. Salsberg describe why you had been chosen to perform this particular assignment in any manner other than what you have described?

Mr. WALSH. Well, as I pointed out, one of the main reasons was because I was known as a Communist who had experience abroad; that

I had been to Europe and that I had been in touch with the Communist Parties in France and Belgium and Holland, and because—at this point I wish to state that I forgot to mention that after being arrested and sent to England I was not given a trial because the end of the war was approaching, and that I wasn't the only one who was arrested, and I was sent back to the Continent.

Mr. SCHERER. May I again interrupt, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Your arrest on the Continent arose out of some speeches you made at Communist meetings after you arrived with the Army; is that right?

Mr. WALSH. That's correct.

Mr. SCHERER. I would be interested to know what the agitation was among the French and Belgian Communists that you advocated at that particular time.

Mr. WALSH. Well, at that particular time, for example, in France, the agitation of the Communist Party was to bring pressure upon the new de Gaulle government, so that the Communist Party chieftain, Maurice Thorez, who had deserted the French Army and had hidden away in Moscow during the whole war—so that he could be pardoned and brought back to France, and that the Communist Party could take over a leading part in the new French Government.

Mr. SCHERER. These directives all came from the Soviet Union; is that right?

Mr. WALSH. All these directives were being funneled through by Communist Party leaders in Great Britain to the soldiers, and we on the continent were continually getting Communist propaganda from Canada and from Great Britain, and we knew what the Communist Party line was all the time.

Now, when we came to France we got copies of L'Humanité, the organ of the French Communist Party, and also got copies of the Drapeau Rouge, which was the organ of the Belgian Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. There is no question in your mind, however, but that these directives originated in the Soviet Union, no matter what sources were used through which they were funneled to you?

Mr. WALSH. No; there was absolutely no hesitation in my mind because [Maurice] Thorez, the French Communist Party leader, was speaking every day over Moscow radio and urging the French Communists to agitate for his reentry into the country.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name?

Mr. WALSH. Thorez—T-h-o-r-e-z—and his first name is Maurice—M-a-u-r-i-c-e.

Mr. KEARNEY. You say that for your activities in this connection you were brought to England under arrest. Did you later receive an honorable discharge from the Canadian Army?

Mr. WALSH. I didn't get your question, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did you later receive an honorable discharge from the Canadian Army?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; I was honorably discharged. That was after the—

Mr. KEARNEY. That was after the first discharge, which was dishonorable, and you were allowed, when the Communists were taken in the army, to reenlist?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; that is correct, because the Canadian Government at that time was led to believe that the Communists were cooperating wholeheartedly in the war effort, and all Communists were allowed to enlist in the Canadian Army.

Mr. KEARNEY. So that when you were finally discharged you were given an honorable discharge?

Mr. WALSH. I was given an honorable discharge, as were hundreds of other Communists who took part in Communist agitation in the armed forces.

Mr. SCHERER. Did the Communists take credit for the opening of a second front in Communist Party circles?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; the Communists always exploit these things, even when they are not responsible for them. So, in this particular instance, they clamored in party organs, from Australia to Iceland and from Moscow to Toronto, that the second front was opened because of pressure being brought by Communists of the world for the opening of a second front.

Mr. KEARNEY. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you were describing the reasons why you were assigned to this particular task in the Canadian Seamen's Union. Had you had any previous experience as a seaman?

Mr. WALSH. No; I had no experience whatsoever as a seaman, and I was a little reluctant to take on this assignment because I told Salsberg that I didn't know the bow from the stern of a ship, and Salsberg laughed and told me the national secretary-treasurer of the union, T. G. McManus, had never been on a ship in his life and that I shouldn't worry about these things, that everything would be arranged so that I wouldn't have any difficulty.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you accept the assignment when Salsberg requested you to accept it or were you told to accept it?

Mr. WALSH. Well, in the Communist Party you haven't got the choice. When you're ordered to do something, you just do it. So, I did it.

Mr. SCHERER. You mean they have no freedom in the Communist Party?

Mr. WALSH. No; there's absolutely no democracy in the Communist Party, especially when you get in the top echelons, and you're just ordered to do these things and you just do it.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is a little contrary explanation to the explanation of Communist leaders throughout the world, isn't it?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, but the facts bear it out. I don't think Comrade Beria was consulted about whether he was to be arrested or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were you told to do?

Mr. WALSH. Well, I was told that I would go to Montreal and that Harry Binder, whom I have mentioned previously, and whose name will come up quite frequently because he is one of the top Communist organizers in Quebec Province, and he has taken the place of Fred Rose. So, I wish to mention that because I will mention Mr. Binder's name quite often. I was told to report to Harry Binder and that Binder would give me further instructions and other details about how I should get on a ship and become a member of the Canadian Seamen's Union.

So, I reported back to Montreal, and I went to Communist Party headquarters on St. Catherine Street—254 East St. Catherine Street—to be exact, and there Harry Binder told me I was to go to Quebec City and that Ray Collette, who was the business agent of the Canadian Seamen's Union for Quebec Port, would see to it that I got on a ship.

Mr. TAVENNER. Spell it.

Mr. WALSH. Collette, as spelled, C-o-l-l-e-t-t-e. His first name is Ray, for Raymond.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you go to see Mr. Collette?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; I went to see Collette. Immediately after I went to Montreal, I went to Quebec, and the next day I sailed out of Quebec for Hamburg.

If you are interested in how I got on the ship, I think it is worth while explaining, because it shows the typical brutal fashion in which the Communists carry out such assignments.

The steamship *Mont Rolland* had left Montreal the day before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Spell the name, please.

Mr. WALSH. *Rolland*—R-o-l-l-a-n-d.

It was a 10,000-ton cargo ship, and it had a stopover at Quebec Port, and Collette, myself, and two other CSU strong-arm men—we went aboard the ship and we told the galley boy to pack his belongings and to get off the ship, and when the galley boy protested the strong-arm men just grabbed him, along with his baggage, and the captain wasn't consulted, or anything, and the ship sailed a few hours after, and I was the galley boy.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you perform the duties of a galley boy in the various voyages of the ship?

Mr. WALSH. No; I soon discovered that the galley boy was a job which you probably know is—he keeps the galley clean and peels potatoes, and I thought it was a very tedious job at first, the first few hours I got on there, but no sooner had I been on than I was told George Scordas—S-c-o-r-d-a-s—who was the leader of the Communists on board the ship, that seamen on the deck would come into the galley every day and do the work I was supposed to do, and for which I was being paid, and that I should go back aft in my quarters and do work on the typewriter and take care of the Communist library, prepare for the ship's meetings which we held every week, and to carry on classes in Marxism. So, I soon discovered that I was a privileged passenger aboard the ship.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before you describe what you were to do in carrying out the mission that had been given you by Mr. Salsberg, I would like for you to first tell the committee whether or not this seamen's strike, which was being prepared for at that time, was part of an international conspiracy aimed at the shipping of the world.

Mr. WALSH. Yes; I will prove later on in my testimony that this strike was a political strike which had no bona fide trade-union principles involved whatsoever and that it was being ordered by the Cominform, which is the international section and which faithfully carries out the dictates of the Soviet Union, that this strike was being organized with the end in view of tying up shipping in ports all over the world so that Marshall plan shipments would not be delivered in time or the cargoes would rot and at the same time it was expected to

deal a crippling blow to the Atlantic Pact which the Communists were vigorously opposing at that time all over Europe.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the particular function that you were to perform in helping to prepare for what you later found to be the conspiracy which you have described?

Mr. WALSH. Well, I found out that my particular function was to contact the Communist dockers' unions in all the ports that my ship visited, and it was merely to confirm and to assure, to be assured, that these dockers, the unions, would pledge solidarity strikes when we would tie up the ships in these ports, so that shipping would effectively be paralyzed.

So, in all the ports to which I went, I immediately got in touch with Communist Party headquarters or with headquarters of the various dockers' unions, in ports like London, Hamburg, Antwerp, Genoa, Naples, Bari, Izmir, and so on and so forth.

Mr. SCHERER. What reasons did the Communist group offer to the rank and file of the labor unions for tying up the shipping? You didn't tell them the truth, did you?

Mr. WALSH. No. Well, as always in these things, what we said publicly and what we did secretly were two different things. We had to tell the rank and file that negotiations were being stalled by the shipowners, because the shipowners were not going to play ball with the union, and so on and so forth; but in reality the preparations were going on all the time for this strike. Whether the shipowners signed the contract or agreed to sign the contract or not, the preparations were going on and we didn't bother or care about the negotiations which officially were going on.

Mr. KEARNEY. Where did the orders for this strike come from?

Mr. WALSH. Well, the original orders came from Vassili Vavilkin, who was in complete charge of the maritime—I will spell that: Vassili—V-a-s-s-i-l-i—his first name; and his second name is Vavilkin—V-a-v-i-l-k-i-n.

Vavilkin is the Russian Communist who is today and at that time was in charge of the maritime apparatus of the Cominform, and today he is the secretary. He is the first vice president of the World Federation of Trade Unions' section, which is known as the Seamen and Dockers International.

Mr. SCHERER. He is a resident of what country?

Mr. WALSH. He lives in or around Moscow, I believe.

Mr. KEARNEY. You mean Moscow, Russia?

Mr. WALSH. In the Soviet Union; that's correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you state to the committee, please, just how your connection with this strike developed and how the plan was finally made known to you?

Mr. WALSH. Well, I gradually got to know what the plan was because before I got on the ship Ray Collette, whom I have mentioned previously and who was one of the top Communist leaders of Canada—and I would even say that he belongs to the Soviet underground because he has been involved in sabotage—Ray Collette told me that aboard the ship I would meet some old-time Communists like Bob Pieluk.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell these names, please?

Mr. WALSH. Bob—B-o-b: second name is Pieluk—P-i-e-l-u-k. George Scordas—S-c-o-r-d-a-s, Mike Zanyuk—Z-a-n-y-u-k, and Blackie Leonard—L-e-o-n-a-r-d.

Now, these Communists had been engaged in the same type of work that I was to do, but they had been handicapped by the fact they could not speak French and had no experience whatever on the Continent, whereas I had lived for some time, both in France, in Belgium, and in Holland, and I had known the leaders of the Communist Party and I had worked with them and I could either speak French or I could understand enough Dutch to be able to get along better than the comrades I have previously mentioned.

Mr. SCHERER. Where did you get your pay from during all this period?

Mr. WALSH. Well, the main pay I was getting was from the shipping companies, who were paying me as a galley boy, although I wasn't doing the work.

The Canadian Seamen's Union had such a stranglehold over the companies that the companies could do very little about these things. Although the companies undoubtedly were aware that there were many things going on aboard their ships which had nothing to do with trade unionism, they could find no way of getting rid of the union.

Mr. SCHERER. You mean you were willing to do all these things during the period you were on the ship at least, for a galley boy's compensation? Was your fanaticism that great?

Mr. WALSH. Well, the galley boy's compensation, with overtime, which was always automatically accorded, amounted to about \$300 a month, which is considered to be very high wages in Canada because on board ship you don't pay any board, you see.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you work overtime—

Mr. WALSH. No.

Mr. SCHERER. Or was that just a means—

Mr. WALSH. It was all arranged.

Mr. SCHERER. Of getting you extra compensation?

Mr. WALSH. Yes. Of course, the cook, for example, who was also a Communist, always saw to it that I got 50 or 60 hours overtime each trip for painting the galley, something like that, things which other people had done.

Mr. SCHERER. You got no additional compensation from the Communist Party during that time?

Mr. WALSH. No; not during that time, although there were other ways and means that the Communists take—for example, like I am a married man and I have children, and the Communists used to see to it that my children had sufficient clothes so my wife didn't have to worry about that part of the budget.

Mr. SCHERER. In other words, at least while you were a galley boy, the shipowners would pay for the Communist activities aboard their ships—

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Through fraud and deceit practiced upon them.

Mr. WALSH. They were doing it unknowingly.

Mr. SCHERER. Unknowingly, of course.

Mr. WALSH. But that is what it boils down to.

Mr. SCHERER. I said through fraud and deceit practiced upon them.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right; you were describing your activities which led up to your final discovery of the plan that was to be put into effect.

I think you stated to the committee that you were told certain things by Collette. I am not certain whether you completed your statement with regard to that or not.

Mr. WALSH. Yes. Collette told me that the Communists on board would give me the names and addresses of contacts in all the ports wherever I went.

Now, Collette, himself, gave me a list of names because he, himself, was often at sea, too, on various assignments of courier work for the Cominform.

These business agents were not always in their offices. Every once in a while one of them would take a trip for some very mysterious reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, were you successful in all instances in getting promises of assistance from the dock workers in the so-called solidarity strike which was to follow?

Mr. WALSH. Well, yes and no. The unions, of course, who were controlled by the Communists. We had no difficulty in getting their pledges of solidarity because they had been approached previously and they knew the score. They were already prepared for this, and we had no difficulty, of course, with Communists because all Communists just take their orders and there's no question about it. They knew the CSU strike was a strike that was supposed to be made in the interests of the Soviet Union in the European ports of France and places like Antwerp and the Italian ports. The dockers were very communistically inclined. They had even tossed munitions overboard. In Antwerp they circularized antiwar pamphlets to American seamen.

But where we came in contact with non-Communists or anti-Communist dockers' unions, of course, we couldn't get any headway because these people did not believe in political strikes for the furtherance of the Soviet Union and we got no headway with these unions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you required to make reports of the result of your work in attempting to line up the dockworkers in these various ports?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; I had to continually send to André Fressinet, the secretary general of the Dockers' and Seamen's International. I will spell that: André—first word—A-n-d-r-é; his family name, Fressinet—F-r-e-s-s-i-n-e-t—and his function—he was secretary and still is secretary-treasurer, or, as they call it in France, the general secretary of the Seamen's and Dockers' International Section of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Now, that's the name which is used in the abbreviation, but the real name—and I think for purposes of being correct—the real name is the International Trade Unions of Inland Waterways' Workers and Seamen, Fishermen and Port Workers. That is the official name that is known in the documents, some of which I have with me and which I could submit to the committee if they so desired.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, in these reports which you have mentioned, can you tell the committee, from your recollection of them, how many of these various ports that you had visited you had reported would act favorably in the event of a strike?

MR. WALSH. Well, I do not want the committee at this instance to believe that it was solely due to my personal intervention that I was influencing these dockworkers to go out on strike. I was merely doing contact work, and it was merely another phase of what the Communists often refer to as double checking. The dockworkers were checking on the seamen's union and we were checking on the dockworkers' unions, because we are always on the lookout for what we call traitors and for people who are lukewarm; and at that time in Europe the A. F. of L. had sent Irving Brown to combat these Communist inroads, and we were having trouble, especially in Marseilles, France, with the anti-Communists within the dockworkers. So, at that time it was very necessary for us to be in continual contact, as much as possible, with the dockworkers' union, so that we would know exactly where we could count upon a solidarity strike of the dockworkers.

Now, in this respect I wish to point out at this stage that, for example, in Great Britain the Transport and General Workers' Union, which has control over the dockworkers' section, is a very anti-Communist union and the leadership is a very anti-Communist one. The late Ernest Bevin of the British Government was the leader of this union, and he has always been known as an anti-Communist; but the fact is so-called rank-and-file committees had managed to gain control over various strategic sections situated in places where we could actively paralyze the docks in London, for example, and this is what actually took place, as I will explain later on, so that it was very important to contact rank-and-file committees because we could count upon them to create chaos and havoc and sometimes to intimidate and persuade non-Communist dockworkers to follow us in this strike.

MR. TAVENNER. When you refer to rank-and-file committees, are you speaking of the committees of the legitimate labor unions or the rank-and-file committees of the Communist Party?

MR. WALSH. Well, I'm referring to rank and file committees in legitimate trade unions, but who are composed largely or entirely of Communists or sympathizers.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you proceed, please, to describe the course of your work which you have told us about?

MR. WALSH. Well, the first and the most complete picture I had of what was to be expected occurred when my ship was in Genoa.

Now, for the purpose of clarification, I think it is necessary for me to point out that the Dockers' and Seamen's International in Paris—that is the World Federation of Trade Unions' main office—receives from all over the world the sailing schedules of all ships, because nearly all the shipping companies publish in various newspapers, sometimes 2 months in advance, the sailing schedules of their ships.

Now, Communists and special research people are assigned to the task of seeing that all these shipping schedules are sent to the World Federation of Trade Unions' office. So, by this way Fressinet knew exactly where all the ships were and the Communists have been known to boast that they have Communist agitators on board nearly every deep-sea ship.

So, when I came into Genoa it was no surprise that André Fressinet knew I was coming there, that the *Mont Rolland* was due to touch in Genoa, because we had touched on 6 or 7 Italian ports previously.

and I was told to report to the CGIL, or to the Italian General Confederation of Labor, which is the biggest trade-union body in Italy and is completely controlled by the Communist Party.

I was told to report to this building—and at this stage I've explained to you how I became a galley boy without working as a galley boy. I think from the viewpoint of studying Communist methods and utilizing seamen that it would be very interesting for me to point out that whenever a ship touched port that the Communist Party in these ports used to send what we called replacements. For example, if I were in Genoa or Turin, or wherever I happened to be, the Communist Party, if they wanted me for 2 or 3 days to do work, or liaison work, or something, would send somebody to take my place. So, the captain wouldn't have anything to say because somebody was taking my place; but this was made without the authorization or permission of either the shipping companies or the captain. It was done on our own initiative, and there was very little the captain of the ship could do about it.

Now, when I got to Genoa at this particular time somebody came on board the ship and identified himself and told me that Comrade Walsh had to report to the office of the General Confederation of Italian Labor—and, being security conscious, of course, he did not tell me anything else.

So, I went to this meeting, which was held in the big conference room, and there I met all the top Communist agitators in the maritime section of the Cominform.

MR. KEARNEY. Now, at that point, Mr. Walsh, you refer to the fact that at that time you met all the well-known leaders of the Cominform throughout the world, did I understand you to say?

MR. WALSH. No; throughout Europe, with one exception. There was one Communist from Cuba who was present.

MR. KEARNEY. Were there any there from the United States?

MR. WALSH. No; to my knowledge, there were no Americans there whatsoever.

There were about 40 people who were present, and among them—many I have mentioned previously, like André Fressinet—Marino De Stefano. Marino is spelled M-a-r-i-n-o; De Stefano—D-e S-t-e-f-a-n-o.

MR. SCHERER. Well, following up on Chairman Kearney's question, was this conference that you are about to describe supposed to include American Communists or was it a conference confined to the European theater?

MR. WALSH. Well, it wasn't a public conference.

MR. SCHERER. I understand that.

MR. WALSH. It was merely a Communist get-together of top leaders; and, for example, if Harry Bridges would be there, he would have been welcome because he was the vice president of this organization and his name has appeared officially—

MR. KEARNEY. What do you mean by that expression "Harry Bridges would have been welcome"?

MR. WALSH. Because at that time Harry Bridges was trying very hard to get a passport to come to Europe, because he was known as one of the top leaders of the maritime section of the Cominform, and because of that efforts were being made to have Harry Bridges to come to this meeting and to other subsequent meetings which were held in Marseilles and in Warsaw.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you have any knowledge of your own as to whether Harry Bridges was a member of the Communist Party or not?

Mr. WALSH. Well, I haven't got any positive knowledge, but among seamen and dockers it was commonly acknowledged that he was a member of the Communist Party or, if he wasn't he was certainly doing everything that Communists were doing in the maritime section—and we could see, for example, in publications of the Communist Party, of seamen and dockers' workers' unions, that Harry Bridges even had articles. For example, I have an article here from a French Communist paper of Harry Bridges, which I could submit to the committee, and I've seen various articles of Bridges in Italian and Hungarian and German and Dutch and French papers.

Mr. SCHERER. There wasn't any question in the minds of those individuals like yourself who were acting in the Communist Party that Harry Bridges was a Communist, was there?

Mr. WALSH. No, because Pat Sullivan, the founder and the president of the Canadian Seamen's Union, told me that Harry Bridges and himself and other American Communists—that they met in the Morrison Hotel in Chicago, I believe, and that they had decided to coordinate plans in Canada for the eventual taking over of longshoremen's unions, which were then controlled by the International Longshoremen's Association.

Mr. SCHERER. Who would take over? What do you mean?

Mr. WALSH. Harry Bridges' outfit—the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

Mr. KEARNEY. Proceed.

Mr. WALSH. I am continuing to name some of the other people.

I believe I haven't spelled De Stefano—D-e S-t-e-f-a-n-o. He is the leader and was the leader at that time of the Italian Seamen's Union, which is completely dominated and controlled by the Italian Communist Party.

Hoiting—H-o-i-t-i-n-g, of the Dutch Seamen's Union;

Van Den Branden—that's three words—V-a-n D-e-n B-r-a-n-d-e-n—of the Antwerp Dockers' Action Committee.

This group is an insignificant splinter group of Communist agitators because the main body of dockers in Antwerp are now very anti-Communist and they have refused to obey orders not to unload American material, despite Communist attempts at intimidation.

Otto Schmidt—O-t-t-o; Schmidt—S-c-h-m-i-d-t. He is an official of the Austrian Inland Transportation Workers, another Communist union that is affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Salvadore Gomez—S-a-l-v-a-d-o-r-e; and Gomez—G-o-m-e-z—of the underground Communist Party of Spain. G-o-m-e-z at that time was staying in Tangier—in the International Zone of Tangier.

Luigi Longo—Longo is spelled L-o-n-g-o—he is a prominent leader of the Italian Communist Party and the former political commissar of the International Brigades in Spain.

Jock Hastings—Hastings, H-a-s-t-i-n-g-s—is from the British Dock Workers' Rank and File Committee. He is a well-known Communist agitator in the dock section.

And Pontikos—P-o-n-t-i-k-o-s—who claims to represent the Greek Maritime Federation, which is today nonexistent, except in the imagination of a few Greek Communists in New York, one of whom I believe is under deportation, Kaloudis; and in Marseilles and Cherbourg these

Greek Communists have been either deported from various countries or are under open arrest in their own country for Greek activities, like sabotage, espionage, and so forth—revolution activities.

And the Cuban I mentioned was Lazaro Pina—two words—L-a-z-a-r-o; and his family name, P-i-n-a. He is an official, or was an official, of the Cuban General Workers' Federation, which is affiliated to the Latin Confederation of Trade Unions, of which the well-known Communist, Lombardo Toledano, is president. Toledano is spelled T-o-l-e-d-a-n-o.

Now, Pina was arrested last year in Cuba as he came back from his secret World Federation of Trade Unions' meeting. The Cuban General Workers' Federation—

Mr. KEARNEY. Is this the meeting at which plans were discussed for this worldwide shipping strike?

Mr. WALSH. This was the first time that I actually knew the score as to what their intentions were. It happened during this meeting.

Mr. KEARNEY. And those intentions, as I asked, for a worldwide shipping strike were first discussed at that time?

Mr. WALSH. Exactly.

Mr. KEARNEY. At that meeting?

Mr. WALSH. Exactly.

Mr. KEARNEY. I would like to suggest, Mr. Counsel, that we proceed to a discussion of those plans because I would like to take a break at 12 o'clock and recess until 1:30.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well, sir.

Will you proceed to state what occurred at that meeting?

Mr. WALSH. The main speaker—as you all have realized—you have people who speak many languages; so, it was decided that the speeches would be made in Italian and in French, and Fressinet was to be the main speaker, and he spoke in French, and I spoke in French, and Longo spoke in Italian and Gomez, I believe, spoke in Spanish; but the main speaker was Fressinet, and then it was translated into Italian for the benefit of the others who could not understand French.

Now, from what I gathered, French seemed to be the language which was understood by all the organizers. So, I was very sure of what transpired during the French speech. The French speech of Fressinet—there were no attempts at all to camouflage the reasons behind the coming strike.

And in this respect I wish to point out that in France and in Italy, among the Communist Party, you haven't got the continual attempts at camouflaging intentions as you have, for example, in the United States here, or in Canada, where the parties sometimes adopt the seeming underground methods; and the reason—I think the main reason—for that is the French Communists are so cocky in the belief of their strength that the French Government won't dare touch them, and the same thing applies to the Italian party, that they don't beat about the bush. They go directly to the point. It has been my personal experience that when these people speak about sabotage, they mention the word "sabotage," whereas in Canada or in the United States I think the words are never mentioned. It's often accomplished, but it's never mentioned.

So, Fressinet's speech was to the effect that the Marshall plan to aid Europe or to aid the underfed populations of Europe would defeat the Communist Party plans in Italy and in France particularly, where

the Communists were busy exploiting the discontent that was evident everywhere due to the postwar conditions in these countries.

Now, Fressinet said that originally the plan had been to involve the National Maritime Union at the same time as the Canadian Seamen's Union, so that the strike would be more effective, but in the meantime Fressinet explained that the National Maritime Union had broken away—that is, the leadership had broken away—from the Communist Party and that nearly all the Communist leaders who had been there for a long time had been expelled. So that they could not count on the National Maritime Union either joining this strike of their own free will or of going on a solidarity strike; but Fressinet pointed out that happily the Canadian Seamen's Union was a union which was not a reactionary one and that it was in the hands of militant comrades and that the shipping tieup which would result in both Canada and the European countries would effectively paralyze all the ports of Europe and would deal a crippling blow to both the Marshall plan and to the Atlantic Pact, because the dockers had been, of course, briefed and approached and ordered to go on strike in all the ports and to tie up shipping, which meant that it was not only the case or the question of tying up Canadian ships. It was the question of—if the ports were paralyzed by these ships, that the strike would spread and that all other ships of other nations, or of Panamanian registry, would then be immobilized and the Marshall-plan cargoes would rot and that sailing schedules would be behind time, and so on and so forth, and that the Communist Party would actively exploit the result of this strike.

Now, after Fressinet spoke, Longo gave an agitational speech in Italian, which I could see was along the same lines. Now, previous to this I had seen copies of *For a Lasting Peace for a People's Democracy*, which is the organ of the Cominform, and I could see the party line against the Marshall plan and the Atlantic Pact was merely being implemented in the speech given by Fressinet.

Now, after Longo's speech, Fressinet asked me to give my opinion of what the strike would be from the CSU viewpoint, and I told him that the members of the CSU were being prepared for the coming strike and that we would certainly play our part and that we had a militant background and that we would certainly contribute our part in seeing to it that the strike was a success.

Now, in referring to the strike, I was given by Fressinet at that meeting the assignment that I should be transferred to the *Beaverbrae*, and that is when I found out—

I am going to spell that name—*Beaverbrae*—*B-e-a-v-e-r-b-r-a-e*. It is owned by the Canadian Pacific Steamships. This ship was to be the key ship in the forthcoming strike.

MR. TAVENNER. When did you learn that fact?

MR. WALSH. I learned it only at this meeting—that that was the ship that was chosen by Fressinet.

MR. TAVENNER. Well, the plans went far enough to indicate what the key ship should be in this strike during the progress of this conference?

MR. WALSH. Well, I think that it would be more precise to say that before this conference Fressinet had plans beforehand and he knew that the *Beaverbrae* was going to be the key ship, because undoubtedly,

and in fact, he was in touch with Harry Popovich, who was the leader of the Canadian Seamen's Union.

Popovich—P-o-p-o-v-i-c-h. He is known in Canada under the alias of Harry Davis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, the point is that you as well as the other persons present were advised at this meeting that the *Beaverbrae* would be the key ship in the oncoming strike?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right; proceed.

Mr. WALSH. Now, Fressinet told me that it would be very important if I should get on the *Beaverbrae* and that I should take part in the coming London dock strikes, that was from the question of experience and because also that I was held in high esteem by the section—by the maritime section of the Cominform.

Now, I wish to stress the fact that this was not a trade-union meeting. This was a meeting of Communist Party agitators.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any matter discussed at that meeting regarding the welfare of seamen generally or any resolutions regarding a wage dispute in which the seamen would be interested?

Mr. WALSH. No; and that is something that scandalized me at that time, because, although I knew Communist tactics, I didn't know they could be so blunt as that. There was absolutely no mention whatsoever, and when I suggested to Fressinet that we arrange the agenda before, he told me that it was not necessary, that the main thing was that it was going to be against the Marshall plan and in Europe that we didn't have to find excuses for these things, but that in Canada that it was very obvious we had to convince the rank and file that it was to be carried out for trade-union purposes, involving trade-union principles.

Mr. SCHERER. Did I understand you to say that Harry Bridges was attempting to obtain a passport to attend this meeting?

Mr. WALSH. To attend this meeting and subsequent meetings of the same people.

Mr. SCHERER. I thought that was it.

You said this was a meeting of Communist agitators and not a union meeting. That is your testimony?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; they were purely Communist agitators, although most of them belonged to Communist unions.

Mr. SCHERER. Oh, I understand that. They would have to belong to Communist unions.

Mr. KEARNEY. There were no others allowed there, other than members of the Communist Party, were there?

Mr. WALSH. No; very definitely. In fact, I forgot to mention that there were two Italians with Sten guns who were standing outside the building in case some police happened to interfere. This was a very top-security meeting.

And I don't know if the committee is aware of the influence of the Italian Communist Party in Genoa or in Milan or in northern Italy, but the Communists there are very strong, and I know when I went there in 1947 or 1948 that it was not an exception to see Communist pickets, for example, on strike walking up and down.

Mr. SCHERER. The committee just doesn't want them to get that strong in this country, in the city of Albany.

Mr. WALSH. They were going around with Sten guns on their shoulders.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I am anxious for you to recall all the circumstances and all the statements that you can recall as to what plans were announced at that meeting and what part various persons played in the meeting.

You have told us that you were directed to become a member of the *Beaverbrae* crew.

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is where you stopped when we began talking about other matters.

Mr. WALSH. Yes; I mentioned that.

Now, it was explained that the nerve center of the forthcoming strike would be the greatest seaport in the world, the London docks, but that arrangements had been made in places as far off as Australia and New Zealand, for example, that these unions would demonstrate their solidarity and would go on strike and would refuse to load or unload ships.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment.

Mr. Chairman, I realize it is going to run considerably past 12 o'clock to complete this testimony regarding this meeting and I believe that, unless you desire to go on for 20 or 30 minutes, this would be a good place to make a break.

Mr. KEARNEY. The committee will be in recess until 1:30.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 1:30 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(At the hour of 1:32 p. m., of the same day, the hearing reconvened, the following committee members being present: Representatives Bernard W. Kearney (chairman of the subcommittee) and Gordon H. Scherer.)

Mr. KEARNEY. The committee will be in order.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Walsh, how many persons spoke at this meeting in Genoa which you have described?

Mr. WALSH. Apart from the persons whom I have previously mentioned, there were two other speakers—Lazaro Pina and Jock Hastings from Great Britain.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee a résumé of anything they may have said that you now recall?

Mr. WALSH. As Lazaro Pina was the only other person coming from the American Continent, it was very important that he should stress the fact that arrangements had been made with Ferdinand Smith, who was the former national secretary of the National Maritime Union.

Mr. KEARNEY. Is that Ferdinand Smith?

Mr. WALSH. Ferdinand Smith—S-m-i-t-h—so that east coast co-operation would be attempted.

Mr. TAVENNER. East coast of what country?

Mr. WALSH. The east coast of the United States, and that Pina had seen Smith on several occasions map out plans by rank-and-file committees of dock workers' unions and the National Maritime Union would try and coordinate their work with the CSU strike.

MR. TAVENNER. How did you learn those facts?

MR. WALSH. Some people who were on the ship, like Scordas, had told me that Conrad Sauras—S-a-u-r-a-s—who was the vice president of the CSU had been down to the United States to meet Smith and to work out arrangements, and that he had also been to Cuba previously to arrange meetings with Communists like Lazaro Pina and others who belonged to the Communist unions in Cuba.

Now, I mention this fact because later on in my testimony we will see that there were attempts carried out in Cuba to support this strike; but the main point of Pina's speech was to assure everyone that the dockers on the east coast would come out in sympathy strike with the CSU strikers and would paralyze the various American ports.

MR. TAVENNER. That, as I understand, was discussed at this meeting which you mentioned?

MR. WALSH. This was discussed at this meeting.

Now, the next speaker was Jock Hastings, who represented the dockers' rank-and-file committee of Great Britain. Hastings pointed out that Jack Popovich—P-o-p-o-v-i-c-h, alias Jack Pope—P-o-p-e, who, incidentally, is the brother of Harry Popovich mentioned previously—that Popovich was to take up residence in Great Britain and, in coordination with the Communist Party, would see to it that all the rank-and-file Communists within the Dockers' Union would be ready to actively support the forthcoming strike.

Hastings also remarked that if this strike could last a year that not only would the London docks be tied up, but all the other British ports would be so paralyzed that it would effectively paralyze both the Marshall plan and deal a crippling blow to the Atlantic Pact.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what plans were made and what preparation was made to put the *Beaverbrae* in a position or in a condition which would permit of the execution of these plans?

MR. WALSH. As the *Beaverbrae* was the key ship—that is, the strategic ship which would give the signal for the strike—it was very important that aboard this ship the Communists should have old-time members of the party, who would be reliable, and who would be ready to carry out their tasks, even in the face of imprisonment.

With this end in view, the Communist Party apparatus in St. John, New Brunswick, where the *Beaverbrae* had its port of call, arranged to have non-Communist crew members replaced by trusted Communist Party members, so that when the *Beaverbrae* was ready for the strike there would be old-time, trusted Communist members on board the ship who would not hesitate to carry out to the full the orders to see that the port of London was effectively paralyzed when the *Beaverbrae* was tied up and the dockers went out under the prearranged plans.

MR. TAVENNER. Was that done?

MR. WALSH. Yes; the *Beaverbrae* sailed with the choicest selection of Communist agitators that ever were found aboard one ship.

MR. TAVENNER. What else was done in order to prepare the *Beaverbrae* and its crew for the impending strike?

MR. WALSH. As I mentioned previously, Jack Pope had contacted the dockworkers' section of the party and everything was being prepared in London; Communist members were replacing non-Communist members aboard the *Beaverbrae*, and also aboard the *Mont Rol-*

land, which was the ship I was sailing on, at least 4 or 5 persons who were found to be unreliable from the Communist Party viewpoint were put off the ship and replaced by trusted Communist organizers.

Previous to that we had to have a meeting so that everything would be timed—that when the *Beaverbrae* finally left port—that the signal for the strike would be sent out to ships all over the world, because these Canadian ships were not only sailing on the Atlantic, they were also, some of them, sailing on the Pacific.

And I think that the very important factor which should be stressed here is that the Communist plan was aimed primarily at the Atlantic Pact and the Marshall plan shipments, which is borne out by the fact that on the west coast the CSU immediately signed an agreement with the west coast shipowners, because the west coast shipowners were not involved at that time in carrying vital cargo to European countries, but were going to Japan and China; and it is significant that when the CSU signed the separate agreement with the west coast shipowners that there were no wage increases granted or no improvement of working or living conditions in the contract. It was the same contract as before.

So, it could be plainly seen that the strike was directly aimed at crippling the Atlantic shipping, but to cover up—

Mr. KEARNEY. Who was in control of the union on the west coast?

Mr. WALSH. That is just what I was going to explain.

To cover up this duplicity and this double-face dealing, the west coast union went through the pretext of saying they had formed another union, and that they disagreed with the policy of the east coast section of the union and they formed the West Coast Seamen's Union and signed the separate contract.

This was a camouflage tactic in case that the rank and file on the east coast would get wise to the fact that a political strike was in the offing and not a strike involving basic trade-union principles.

The West Coast Seamen's Union still continues on today as a Communist-dominated outfit and has helped Harry Bridges' union 2 months ago in effecting the complete control of the Vancouver and Victoria dockworkers, who have been taken over by Harry Bridges' union; and the same Communist officials who were on the west coast are the same Communist officials who today are in the West Coast Seamen's Union, and they have been following the party line on the question of peace and on various other questions. They have appealed for mercy for the Rosenbergs, and they are all known on the west coast as reliable Communists.

Mr. SCHERER. May I interrupt there and ask a question of the witness, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. Walsh, do you believe, from the information you have, that the Communist objective today for the infiltration of the maritime unions is similar to that which it was at the time you were active in the party?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, because Communist Party tactics sometimes change, but the objective is always the same thing—to further the aims of the Soviet Union.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you feel the menace is as great as it was at the time you were active?

Mr. WALSH. Well, as long as dockers' and seamen's unions are controlled by Communists, it is my experience and my opinion, and it is

also the opinion of former leaders of the CSU who have resigned, that the menace still exists; and I think that there is a greater menace in the fact that the so-called rank-and-file committees, for example, in New York and Boston, within the International Longshoremen's Association, often follows the Communist Party line and, because of the underground nature of these rank-and-file committees within the rank-and-file union, and within the International Longshoremen's Association it is very hard to pin down their activities and to expose them as clearly as when they are out-and-out Communist-dominated unions who are working aboveground, like in the case of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union of Harry Bridges or the Marine Cooks and Stewards of Hugh Bryson, who make no bones about their Communist Party activities.

Mr. SCHERER. I would like to make an observation, Mr. Chairman, in connection with the testimony of the witness just given: As we all know, there are so many people today who say that we are unduly concerned with the menace of communism because, as they attempt to point out, there are so few Communists; but I think we can draw our own conclusions from the testimony of this witness that if the Communist conspiracy would realize its objective and obtain complete control of the seamen and dockworkers' union, the commerce of the world could be easily sabotaged. In case of war, it is obvious they might control either the success or failure of such a war.

I just want to say that for the record in view of the testimony given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Walsh, it is almost inconceivable that the Canadian Seamen's Union could have been used as you have indicated without the active cooperation of its leaders in this Communist plan.

Mr. WALSH. The Canadian Seamen's Union, since its very foundation, has been known to be a completely Communist-dominated union. In fact, the president and founder of the Canadian Seamen's Union, Mr. J. A. Pat Sullivan, caused one of the biggest sensations in Canada on March 15, 1947, when he resigned from the Canadian Seamen's Union and unmasked the Communist conspiracy and intrigue, not only among the seamen's union but among the Trade and Labor Congress, of which he was the secretary-treasurer. Here is the Montreal Star of that date, where you have Sullivan's picture and the story of the domination, as he puts it, that the Communist Party has taken full control of the Canadian Seamen's Union, and he said it was hopelessly dominated by the Communists. Sullivan admitted he had been a Communist for 20 years and had even been sent over as an official delegate to the foundation meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions. He admitted at that time that he carried a verbal report of Communist activities from Tim Buck, the Canadian Communist leader, to Harry Pollitt, the British Communist leader.

So, there should be no doubt in the minds of the committee as to the out-and-out Communist nature of the Canadian Seamen's Union.

In my opinion, the Canadian Seamen's Union was the union which was the most strongly tinged, from the Communist viewpoint, union in Canada, and it was often held up as an example in countries on the Continent, like in France, and so on and so forth, where they used to point out with pride that the Canadian Seamen's Union was a very militant union.

Now, the Canadian spy trials of 1946 and subsequent revelations have brought out that the Canadian Seamen's Union was not only carrying on sabotage plans, but was also a convenient transmission belt for all kinds of Communist couriers going to and from European countries. A John Harkin, another of the founders of the Canadian Seamen's Union, has testified that Sam Carr, who was one of the leaders of the espionage ring in Canada, was smuggled aboard a CSU ship when he escaped from Canada and went into hiding in the United States.

In my personal experience I have come across at least a dozen Communists who were engaged in courier work, and that I, myself, worked for the Cominform, from Italy to Tangier, where I was ordered to bring duplicating machines to the Spanish Communist underground. I was ordered to do this by leaders of the Italian Communist Party, and it seems that it was just a natural thing to do—that people should be intrusted with parcels and packages, and what not, to bring from one Communist country to another.

So, in my mind, and in the minds of the committee, there should be no doubt whatsoever as to the out-and-out Communist control of the Canadian Seamen's Union.

MR. TAVENNER. Previous to the sailing of the *Beaverbrae*, was any other activity engaged in by you to help prepare the crew or the ship for this oncoming strike?

MR. WALSH. Yes. The very important thing is that before the sailing of the *Beaverbrae* 2 trusted Communists by the names of Arland—A-r-l-a-n-d—and Joe McNeil, and later on, just previous to sailing, another Communist by the name of Bellfontaine—B-e-l-l-f-o-n-t-a-i-n-e—that is the last word, 1 word—Bellfontaine—were placed on board the *Beaverbrae* and 3 non-Communist crew members were taken off.

This is not just hearsay. I have before me a review of the British dock strikes which deals only with the particular aspect of the strike in London, but which mentions this particular case—that the British Government had information at the time that these Communists, prior to the sailing of the *Beaverbrae*, had been specifically put on board these ships so as to strengthen the party apparatus on board the *Beaverbrae*.

Now, in the case of McNeil, I knew him personally. He was a patrolman for the Canadian Seamen's Union in Halifax, and at the last moment we had directions from Harry Gulkin that he should take my place on the *Beaverbrae* and that I—plans had been changed—that I should remain on board the *Mont Rolland* and go to Italy and see that all Canadian ships should be tied up in Italian ports.

Joe McNeil has been arrested a number of times for violence on picket lines and was also involved in penitentiary strikes back in the thirties which were spearheaded by the Communist Party at that time.

MR. TAVENNER. Now, if there is nothing else worthy of special mention regarding the preparation for the sailing of the *Beaverbrae*, will you proceed to advise the committee just how the inception of this strike was maneuvered?

MR. WALSH. Well, we always had to contend, of course, with the rank and file who were non-Communists and, for the sake of appearances, a mass meeting was held in St. John. New Brunswick, on March 22, 1949, and this meeting was called by Eddie Reid—R-e-i-d—the

CSU business agent of that port and a long-time member of the Communist and the LPP party. The purpose of this meeting was to alert the seamen, all of whom were scheduled to go out on outgoing ships within the next few weeks to the impending strike.

Prior to this meeting, we held a secret meeting, in caucus, where Joe McNeil, Nick Bezoski—N-i-c-k Bezoski, B-e-z-o-s-k-i, Jimmy Stewart—S-t-e-w-a-r-t, George Scordas, already mentioned, Buddy Doucet—D-o-u-c-e-t, Norman Wilson—Wilson, W-i-l-s-o-n, and the previously mentioned Arland and Bellfontaine, so that we could hear the instructions from Harry Gulkin—G-u-l-k-i-n.

Harry G-u-l-k-i-n had been in Montreal at the time and he was sent down to replace Joe McNeil as patrolman and strike leader for the port of Halifax, and Gulkin was carrying the official party word from the party leadership and he told us that the strike was scheduled to start as soon as the *Beaverbrae* left port.

Now, in the course of this meeting—this mass meeting—I was chosen to give the main speech because of the fact that half of the members were French-Canadians and I was the only one who could speak in both languages, and I gave them the usual pep talk and told them that the shipowners had shown bad faith in the negotiations and that the only way that we could solve the present stalemate was to have a showdown with the shipowners, and in typical Communist fashion we steamrollered through a resolution endorsing any action that the leadership of the CSU might take within the next few days.

This was only to make it apparent to the leadership that we were interested in improving working and living conditions and that we were after an increase in salary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now, you say the strike order was to be given after the *Beaverbrae* had left port. What was the significance of that decision?

Mr. WALSH. Well, the whole strike hinged on the *Beaverbrae* coming into the Royal docks in London and the crew immediately going out on strike and appealing to the dockworkers not to load or unload this ship because it was on strike. This would immediately paralyze the whole London dock area because it was well known that the British dockers, irrespective of whether they were Communists or non-Communists, had a tradition of union solidarity, and that everything had been arranged—that they would be hoodwinked into believing that this was a bona fide strike involving trade-union principles.

So the strike signal would be also the signal for dockworkers in all the other British ports—Southampton, Liverpool, Leith, Swansea, Cardiff, and the other ports—to also go out on strike and refuse to load and unload Canadian ships on strike, which effectively meant that all other ships coming into port or waiting to come into port would be paralyzed until the strike was ended.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you tell the committee what occurred after the *Beaverbrae* left port?

Mr. WALSH. After the *Beaverbrae* left port, the last-minute preparations were made to assure that we had reliable Communist members on all other ships which were sailing, and then the strike signal was given by Harry Davis, and appeals were also automatically sent out to all the dockers' unions all over the world to pledge their support and their solidarity with the strike of the Canadian seamen.

MR. TAVENNER. As I understand, you did not sail on the *Beaverbrae* as originally planned. Will you tell us what occurred on the ship, the *Mont Rolland*, of which you were a crew member?

MR. WALSH. The original plan was that I was supposed to sail on the *Beaverbrae*, but then it was decided that it was very important that we could tie up all the Italian ports because all the Italian unions were Communist unions, and we wanted to effectively paralyze shipping in Italy, too, because Italy was getting a lot of Marshall plan shipments, and it was important that we should see to it that the ships would all be tied up. So I left on the *Mont Rolland* instead of on the *Beaverbrae*.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you finally arrive in an Italian port?

MR. WALSH. While on our way to the port of Naples, where we were originally scheduled to sail and to land, the captain got a telegram or a cablegram from the owners of the ship, Dreyfus Bros.—they had a subsidiary company called the Montreal Shipping and these ships belonged to this company. The Dreyfus company ordered the captain to proceed to a non-Italian port, and more precisely to the port of Beirut in Lebanon, where it was known that the Communists had no power or control whatsoever over the dockworkers' union.

This, of course, changed our plans because in this strike we couldn't very well mutiny at sea because we would have left ourselves open to a very serious charge. Not only that, the main question was to tie up the ships so that we would paralyze the ports and a mutiny at sea did not constitute a tying up of a ship. What we wanted to do was to create chaos and havoc in the ports.

So, that was why the *Mont Rolland* did not participate in the strike until it came back to Montreal, and there the old crew walked out on strike and we tied up the ship in Montreal, and I was named the CSU strike chairman.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you proceed to tell us what occurred when the *Beaverbrae* arrived in the port of London?

You were not an eyewitness to that because you were on the other ship, but what occurred in regard to the strike is historically known now; is it not?

MR. WALSH. Yes; it is history, because the London dock strikes of 1949, which were the direct consequence of the *Beaverbrae* and the *Argomont*, completely paralyzing the port of London—

MR. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name of that second ship?

MR. WALSH. *Argomont* is—A-r-g-o-m-o-n-t.

MR. TAVENNER. Inform the committee just what occurred.

MR. WALSH. It created quite a crisis, not only in London but in the whole British Empire, because London is a vital seaport and the London docks are supposed to be the greatest docks in the world. Hundreds of ships were tied up and rendered useless when these two ships, the *Beaverbrae* and the *Argomont*, reached their ports and their crews walked out. Immediately, by a prearranged plan, all the dock workers of the port of London refused to work—that is, to load or unload cargoes, not only from these two ships, but from all the other ships in port, which meant that every day there were possibly hundreds of other ships that wanted to come into port and were held off; and this went on for months and months, with the result that hundreds of millions of dollars were lost, shipping schedules were retarded, and that the Marshall plan certainly received a serious blow.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what other ports of Great Britain were affected in the same way that the port of London was?

Mr. WALSH. Well, nearly all the other ports were affected where Canadian ships were tied up, but principally Southampton, Liverpool, Leith, Swansea, and Cardiff. The dockers there walked out in solidarity with the Canadian Seamen's Union strike, and this also contributed to creating chaos in the shipping industry.

Mr. TAVENNER. What occurred on the Continent as a result of this action?

Mr. WALSH. On the continent of Europe where, with the exception of Italy, the shipowners decided to cancel the shipping to Italy; but in France, for example, in various ports like Marseilles, Cherbourg, and Le Havre, the French dockworkers, completely controlled by the General Confederation of Labor, which is a Communist-run organization, immediately went out on strike in support of the Canadian Seamen's Union strike and tied up all these docks, which resulted in all the shipping facilities being paralyzed. In some places the dockworkers even went further and they threw some cargo overboard. Other cargo was watered, as we say in seagoing language, and various attempts were made to sabotage machinery, not only ship machinery, but port machinery.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the result generally upon the ships which were manned by Canadian Seamen's Union crews in various parts of the world?

Mr. WALSH. The results were very far reaching, insofar as 77 ships were successfully tied up, immobilized. And when I say 77 ships, I wish to stress the fact, something which I forgot, that Fressinet at the Genoa meeting prophesied that 78 ships would be tied up, and this was months before the actual strike took place. So, it just goes to show you with what precautions and with what detailed plans that these top Communist agitators had when they knew beforehand how many ships would be tied up, when even the shipowners could not have guessed whether they would have had 5 or 85 ships tied up.

This showed that Fressinet was sure of the cooperation of the Communist dockworkers' unions from New Zealand to Vancouver and from San Francisco to London.

Now, there were over 200 CSU seamen who were arrested in ports all over the world. There were at least 5 seamen killed, including 2 in San Francisco, and there were also in Halifax and St. John probably 15 or 20 who were wounded as Communists tried to intimidate and tried to brutalize strikers or, rather, nonstrikers who did not want to participate in the strike.

Now, for example, in Cuba the crews of the Canadian *Victor* and the *Federal Pioneer* mutinied when the captain refused to sail into the port of Habana. There in the port of Habana, Lazaro Pina had arranged for the Cuban dockworkers to go out on strike and to effectively paralyze the Habana dock facilities. When the captain did not want to sail into the port, the crew attempted to intimidate the captain by openly creating mutiny on ship, and it got to such serious proportion that the Cuban Government had to send a gunboat to subdue the mutineers.

On the west coast of the United States, Harry Bridges' longshoremen's union cooperated in Seattle and in San Francisco entirely with

the Canadian Seamen's Union. Crew members of ships who happened to be at that time in Seattle and in San Francisco were fed by Harry Bridges' union and donations were being raised every day by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. It is a historical fact that the Marine Cooks and Stewards also openly cooperated and donated financial assistance to the Communist-led crews in these two ports.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any cooperation given in this strike by unions on the east coast in the United States, to your knowledge?

Mr. WALSH. To my knowledge, it was a complete fiasco on the east coast because, in the interval, the National Maritime Union had succeeded in cleaning house and getting rid of Ferdinand Smith and the International Longshoremen's Association, which was now known to be a very militant anti-Communist union, refused to support the CSU strike, with the exception of the ILA local in St. John, New Brunswick, which supported the strike for 4 months; but all the other locals of the ILA, including those in Montreal, in Victoria, and in Vancouver refused to support a strike that was so obviously a Communist and a political one and had nothing to do with trade-union principles.

Mr. KEARNEY. On that point, you mentioned again the name of Ferdinand Smith. He was relieved of his job as secretary, wasn't it, or secretary-treasurer?

Mr. WALSH. Of secretary-treasurer.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you know, of your own knowledge, whether or not Smith was later deported by the United States Government on account of his Communist activities while in this country as an alien?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; we often read and, in fact, we made petitions to the American Government not to deport Ferdinand Smith. It was part and parcel of a Communist plan to come to the help of Ferdinand Smith, and to my knowledge I believe I read in the newspapers several times that Ferdinand Smith had been tried, and it was found out that he was a Communist alien, busily engaged in Communist activities, and that he was subsequently deported from the United States.

Mr. KEARNEY. Was he deported to Jamaica? Was that it?

Mr. WALSH. I believe it was somewhere in the Bahamas. I am not sure of the exact place.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the files of our committee reflect that Ferdinand Smith was first arrested for deportation on February 16, 1948; that he was rearrested July 6, 1949, when bail was moved up to \$10,000, and then was released on August 11, 1949, on furnishing \$10,000 bail. However, this \$10,000 bail bond was canceled because it was furnished by the Civil Rights Congress bail fund, and then immigration authorities succeeded in having him deported to London on August 15, 1951, due to the fact that he was a British citizen, born in Jamaica.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Walsh, going back to this strike, how long did that strike last?

Mr. WALSH. This strike lasted 7 months.

Mr. KEARNEY. Seven months?

Mr. WALSH. Approximately; probably 6 months 3½ weeks.

Mr. KEARNEY. It practically tied up the shipping of the world; is that right?

MR. WALSH. Well, especially on the European Continent and in the North African ports it succeeded for a time in tying up world shipments.

MR. KEARNEY. Also on the west coast of the United States?

MR. WALSH. And on the west coast of the United States, where there were some Atlantic ships that had sailed to Frisco and to Seattle.

MR. KEARNEY. I am very curious to ask you and to find out from you how the strike was settled.

MR. WALSH. Well, you're going a little ahead of my testimony, but the strike was settled due to the energetic intervention of the Seafarers' International Union, which was also a very anti-Communist union; and when the shipowners saw that the Canadian Seamen's Union was not acting in good faith and did not care to negotiate, but was carry on this strike which threatened the very existence of the Canadian merchant marine, it called upon the Seafarers' International Union to take over and to man the ships. The Seafarers' International Union succeeded, despite Communist violence and intimidation, in getting Canadian crews to man the strike-bound ships.

Now, this was not done in a day or a week, or in a month. This was done in a period of 6 months, because it was very difficult thing for the Seafarers' International Union to man the strike-bound ships because they had to go through picket lines of strong-arm men, who were sometimes armed with clubs, and the Canadian Government was so alarmed at the violence which was being displayed by the Communist strong-arm squads that they had to ask the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to step in and to prevent seamen who wanted to sail the ships from being murdered, because there were about 300 people who were injured by these CSU strong-arm men who used to rove around the streets at Halifax, St. John, and Montreal, trying to intimidate the members of this new union. So, finally, when the Seafarers' International Union was able to supply crews, for example, to Australia and New Zealand and South Africa, and to France and Great Britain and other countries, they were able to man the ships and the strike finally petered out because the Canadian Seamen's Union did not have any more contracts. In the meantime there were many of the seamen who had been disgusted with this political strike and rallied to the Seafarers' International Union—and that's how the strike was ended.

MR. TAVENNER. In other words, the use of the Seafarers' International Union to break this strike was a contingency which the Communist Party had not prepared for?

MR. WALSH. Exactly. That is the one thing that they did not anticipate. At the Genoa meeting or at another meeting in Marseilles, which I will speak about later on, and which was attended by Mr. Goldblatt, of the Longshoremen's Union from San Francisco, at no time was it ever discussed that there was a possibility that another union would be able to intervene and man the strike-bound ships. This was not discussed because the Communists were so confident that their methods of violence would eventually triumph that they did not take that into consideration, because in previous strikes on the Great Lakes the Canadian Seamen's Union had always been able to win the strikes because of the superiority of their gangster tactics, and they thought that they had completely intimidated any other union from even thinking of trying to compete with them.

Mr. TAVENNER. And of course, the other union would have been powerless to intervene if it hadn't been for the government's support which Canada gave in the way of protection to those who were willing to board these ships?

Mr. WALSH. Exactly. The Canadian Government realized this strike was a sabotage attempt, not only against the Merchant Marine of Canada but that it was a strike which had nothing to do with wage increases and that it could not be called a bona fide strike; and so, the Canadian Government was happy at the intervention of another bona fide trade union.

Mr. TAVENNER. And had it not been for the patriotic services of the rank and file of this non-Communist union, this strike would have been successful?

Mr. WALSH. Exactly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any effort made by this same group of Communists who planned this strike at the Genoa meeting to save the strike, to further its purposes, after the strike had gotten under way?

Mr. WALSH. At the Genoa—

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; I mean the same group.

Mr. WALSH. Oh, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the same group meet again and make any further plans to try to save the strike?

Mr. WALSH. Yes. In July 1949 a specially convened meeting was held in Marseilles, France.

Marseilles is the greatest seaport of France, and it was for a time the stronghold of the Communist Party.

And at this stage it is significant that Louis Goldblatt—G-o-l-d-b-l-a-t-t—the right-hand man of Harry Bridges, and the secretary-treasurer of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, attended this meeting, along with Harry Popovich, alias Harry Davis.

Mr. TAVENNER. And he was the head of the Canadian Seamen's Union?

Mr. WALSH. And he was the leader of the Canadian Seamen's Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which was the focal point of this entire strike?

Mr. WALSH. Exactly, because at this stage it was becoming obvious that it was impossible to demand that the British dockers should continue losing their time and risking arrests and so on and so forth, and that something should be done to terminate the London part of the strike before the strike turned against the Communists. So, it was just a question of saving face that they decided to discuss ways and means of terminating partially this strike, because they were afraid that the London dockers would switch around and that it would defeat their ends and purposes in other parts of the world where the strike was expected and did go on for months and months.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to clarify this. You were not at this meeting yourself at Marseilles?

Mr. WALSH. No. I am referring to official documents which I have in my possession of this union, which I could submit to the committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. And also information from the British Government itself, I believe?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; and it is also substantiated by the report of the British Government.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I will not ask you to take the time at this moment to search out those documents, but I do want you to present them to the committee before your testimony is completed.

Will you just summarize the situation as you learned it developed? (Representative Bernard W. Kearney left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. WALSH. Well, from a study of the documents that I have before me and from my own personal experiences in discussing it with Harry Davis later on, it seems that they came to the conclusion that Harry Popovich, Louis Goldblatt, one Maletta—M-a-l-e-t-t-a, a well-known Italian Communist, and one Blankenzee—B-l-a-n-k-e-n-z-e-e, that this group should fly to London in an effort to make a separate agreement to end the London dock strikes before these strikes turned against the Communists. Goldblatt was not permitted to enter London and was deported by the British Government, but Popovich, being a British subject, could not be prevented and subsequently announced that the strikes of the *Beaverbrae* and the *Argomont* had ended, that a separate agreement was made, but the strikes went on in all the other British ports.

Now, I think I should emphasize here a point which is very important, because it goes to show that the Communists, no matter where they are, that their first allegiance is to the Soviet Union.

When this dock crisis originated in Great Britain, naturally it seriously disturbed the economy of the old country, because the port of London is vitally situated and it is the very pulse of the British Nation.

Now, the British Government happened to have at that time in the cabinet Mr. Ernest Bevin, who was the leader of the dockers' union. Mr. Bevin was known to be very anti-Communist, and he tried all kinds of ways of persuasion and diplomacy to convince the dockworkers that they were taking part in a strike which was no concern of theirs and that they were aiding and abetting the worldwide conspiracy of the Communists to sabotage the Marshall plan.

The dock workers refused to obey an order from the British Government to go back to work. In fact, they refused to obey an order from the British King, His Majesty King George the Sixth, when he ordered them to go back to work; and the people of England and undoubtedly of the world were flabbergasted when Popovich came over from Canada and told the dock workers to go back and they immediately obeyed.

So, this spotlighted the fact that the Communists considered their prime allegiance to a Soviet-controlled organization rather than to their own country.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the names of any other persons in attendance at the Marseilles meeting, from your study of the records?

Mr. WALSH. From the study of the records, about, or the same people who attended the Genoa meeting, or much the same, attended the meeting that was held in Marseilles, and about which material is enclosed here in pamphlets which I received from Fressinet entitled, "From Marseilles to Warsaw," copies of which I will submit to the committee. In this pamphlet it deals with the foundation in July 1949 of the Trade Unions International of Seamen, Inland Waterways' Workers, Fishermen and Port Workers of the World Federa-

tion of Trade Unions, and this was to give a legal name to the Maritime Apparat of the Cominform, because that——

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you there a moment.

That group, you state, was known as the Apparat?

Mr. WALSH. The M. Apparat.

Mr. TAVENNER. M. Apparat of the Cominform?

Mr. WALSH. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you have already explained the meaning of that, but that included the names of such persons as whom?

Mr. WALSH. Well, as Hoiting and Fressinet, and Vavilkin and Van Den Branden, and Harry Bridges, because Harry Bridges was officially named vice president.

Mr. TAVENNER. At this meeting?

Mr. WALSH. At this meeting he was officially elected as vice president.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of this organization, in his absence?

Mr. WALSH. Of this organization, in his absence, and he sent a cablegram regretting that he could not attend this meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have had an investigation made of the records of our committee which shows that it publicly appeared in the press on June 24, 1949, that while awaiting trial on a Federal charge against him, Harry Bridges applied to the Federal district Judge Michael J. Roche—R-o-c-h-e—at San Francisco for permission to travel to France. This permission was refused because Bridges was then under indictment for perjury and conspiracy in obtaining United States citizenship. In his application Bridges asked permission to take a trip from July 10 to July 29, 1949, so that he could attend a world conference of maritime unions being sponsored by the World Federation of Trade Unions in Marseilles, July 13 and 14, 1949.

That is the meeting to which you have referred by date, I believe?

Mr. WALSH. Well, I haven't got the exact dates, but I have in July 1949, because in their official publication they just mention in July 1949 a trade union international, and so on and so forth. They don't give the specific dates, but they give the month and the year.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have stated as a result of that meeting this new organization was formed, which was the successor to this group which had previously operated out of the Cominform; is that correct?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; that is a correct statement, and I gave at the beginning of my testimony the name which they took, as the Trade Unions International of Seamen, Inland Waterways' Workers, Fishermen and Port Workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you examined other publications of that newly formed organization to the extent where you can advise the committee as to what was the place or what was the location decided upon at the headquarters of the organization and who became members of the administrative committee of that organization?

Mr. WALSH. From a study of the documents, copies of which will be submitted to the committee, it becomes crystal clear that the same Communist agitators, or much the same, of those who were in Genoa—and some of them have been known to have been working for the Comintern—that is the official section of the Communist International before it was dissolved and now is known as the Cominform—that these same top Communist agitators, who had been working on the waterfront sections for the Communist Party, in ports all over the

world, are now known publicly to be on the administrative committee of this new union. For example, André Fressinet, whom I have mentioned previously, was appointed or nominated or elected. All of these words are the same in Communist phraseology, because everything is decided in advance; there is no Democratic election. He was named the general secretary of the new union. For example, our friend, Vassili Vavilkin, of the Soviet Union, in this publication is officially named as the vice president, and Marino De Stefano from Italy was also named vice president; and I will not bore the committee with the other names, but you will have to take my word for it and subsequent research will bear me out on this, that all the delegates and substitutes on this commission and on the control commission are all Communist agitators, known to the police of the free countries of the world as people who have always faithfully carried out the orders they received from the Soviet Union.

And the place is also symbolical of their headquarters. It was decided at the convention the headquarters would be in Gdynia, Poland. That is in an Iron-Curtain country.

Gdynia is spelled G-d-y-n-i-a. It is situated in Poland. It is a Polish port, and is now the headquarters of the Trade Unions International which I previously mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, this new trade union—so-called trade union—was formed about the fourth month of this strike, was it not?

Mr. WALSH. Exactly, in July 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any activity of that organization as such regarding the continuance or prolongation of the strike in face of the situation with which the strikers were being confronted due to the loyalty of this non-Communist Seafarers' International Union?

Mr. WALSH. The main idea, apart from having a separate settlement of the London strike, was to widen the strike all over the world. In my opinion, if Harry Bridges had been able to attend and if the SIU had not intervened energetically, despite the Communist attempts, the strike would have been widened and been much more disastrous than it actually was; and I think the American Government in refusing to give a passport to Harry Bridges undoubtedly was able to prevent much unrest on the west coast in so doing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I believe this is a convenient point for a break.

Mr. SCHERER (presiding). The committee will stand in recess for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 2:40 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 2:50 p. m.)

(The hearing reconvened at 2:58 p. m., the following committee members being present: Representatives Bernard W. Kearney (chairman of the subcommittee) and Gordon H. Scherer.)

Mr. KEARNEY. The committee will be in order.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the description of this newly formed organization again? It is a rather long name.

Mr. WALSH. The official name that was decided upon at the Marseilles constituent conference was the Trade Unions International of Seamen, Inland Waterways' Workers, Fishermen and Port Workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, did this organization become affiliated with an international union?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; it immediately affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the World Federation of Trade Unions the same organization with which the American Federation of Labor refused to affiliate and the same organization that the CIO left after having remained a member for a very short period of time?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What reason was assigned by the American Federation of Labor, if you know, as to why it would not affiliate with the World Federation of Trade Unions?

Mr. WALSH. Well, the American Federation of Labor knew from the very start that the World Federation of Trade Unions was bound to be an out-and-out Communist organization because of the fact that in this new federation of trade unions the Russians would have a numerical superiority and the A. F. of L. knew, for example, that in Russia the trade unions are not bona fide trade unions—that is, trade-union officials in Russia are appointed by the Government and not by their membership; and that one of the basic principles on which trade unionism is founded—the right to strike—is denied to workers in the Soviet Union, and that is why the American Federation of Labor refused to join the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Mr. TAVENNER. And they so stated publicly, did they not?

Mr. WALSH. They so stated publicly.

Mr. TAVENNER. And it has just been called to my attention that the American Federation of Labor refused to send a delegate to the founding convention for the same reasons?

Mr. WALSH. That's correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What reason was assigned, if you know, by the CIO for leaving the World Federation of Trade Unions?

Mr. WALSH. Well, the CIO learned the hard way, and after a while it became so obvious that the secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions was more interested in carrying on the work of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union than in real bona fide trade unionism, so James B. Carey, of the CIO, announced that they were leaving the World Federation of Trade Unions because it was dominated by the Communists and that they were continually trying to implement the Communist Party line instead of looking after honest trade-union principles.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any fact which may have been an inducement or which may have led in any way, directly or indirectly, to the original action of the CIO in becoming affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions?

Mr. WALSH. According to Sir Walter Citrine, the first president—

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, just a moment. Who was Sir Walter Citrine?

Mr. WALSH. He was the first president of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and he belonged to the British Labor Movement, and they were convinced at the time there was a possibility of cooperating with the Russian trade unionists on a friendly basis. According to Sir Walter Citrine, during the San Francisco conference an attempt was made to obtain the recognition of the World Federation of Trade Unions as a bona fide trade-union body representing organized workers from all parts of the globe and demanding the right to name representatives as consultants to the San Francisco conference, which was the founding body of the United Nations. The recognition was re-

fused. However, according to Sir Walter Citrine, and I have an article here that is signed by him——

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, just a moment. Where did you obtain that article?

Mr. WALSH. I obtained this in Paris, France. It is the first issue. That was only brought out in the French language and it was a very limited circulation and it was often given to top Communist leaders. It is entitled "Le Movement Syndical Mondial," or its English translation, "The World Trade Union Movement."

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what is its date?

Mr. WALSH. Now, it states in that——

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the date of that publication?

Mr. WALSH. Oh, the date is 1946—April 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed, please?

Mr. WALSH. In this article, which was the editorial of the first issue of this publication, Sir Walter Citrine mentions, incidentally, that after this refusal of the San Francisco Conference to grant them an official status the World Federation of Trade Unions' headquarters in Paris at the time. I say at the time because the World Federation of Trade Unions was expelled from France and their offices closed down by the French Government last year because it was proved they were carrying on Soviet activities. At the time the headquarters of the World Federation of Trade Unions received an unsolicited, official notification from the then secretary general of the San Francisco Conference, Mr. Alger Hiss, "that all correspondence that the World Federation of Trade Unions"—and I am quoting here from the French translation——

Mr. SCHERER. What did they receive from Hiss, did you say?

Mr. WALSH. They received official notification from the then Secretary General of the San Francisco Conference, Mr. Alger Hiss, "that all correspondence"—I am quoting here from the French translation—"that all correspondence that the World Federation of Trade Unions should decide to make to this Conference on any subject whatsoever could be made in the form of a memorandum that will immediately and officially be distributed to all delegates participating in the San Francisco Conference."

That is the end of the quotation of Mr. Alger Hiss' letter.

Sir Walter Citrine continues——

Mr. SCHERER. Wait a minute. Let's get that memorandum. Will you go over that again and repeat what that letter said?

Mr. WALSH. I was referring to the fact that the United Nations had refused recognition to the World Federation of Trade Unions. As Sir Walter states, the recognition was refused.

Mr. SCHERER. It was refused by the United Nations?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; it was refused by the United Nations.

Mr. SCHERER. On the ground that this was a Communist-inspired or dominated organization?

Mr. WALSH. As I remember, for example, Nationalist China and nearly all the South American countries said that they would leave the United Nations if such a thing occurred, because it was obvious that the World Federation of Trade Unions was a Soviet body, and they didn't want any friction; so, they just refused recognition.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you repeat what you said about that letter that Hiss wrote to the Federation?

Mr. TAVENNER. I think I should point out that this was at the San Francisco Conference.

Mr. WALSH (reading) :

However—

according to Sir Walter Citrine—

the World Federation of Trade Unions, which had its headquarters in Paris, received and unsolicited, official notification from the then Secretary General of the San Francisco Conference, Mr. Alger Hiss—

his name is marked in print here, in black and white—

that all correspondence that the World Federation of Trade Unions should decide to make to this Conference on any subject whatsoever could be made in the form of a memorandum that will immediately and officially be distributed to all delegates participating in the San Francisco Conference.

End of quotation of Mr. Hiss' letter.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Counsel, to your knowledge, has the contents of that letter ever been made public before?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir. I am confident that this is the first public information—certainly the first that has come to the attention of our committee—of this incident.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do I understand that this was after the conference refused recognition to this federation?

Mr. WALSH. From what I can gather, it seems that the United Nations refused to recognize the World Federation of Trade Unions, and—

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean the conference?

Mr. WALSH. The conference.

Mr. TAVENNER. Not the United Nations?

Mr. WALSH. I mean this is my opinion—and Mr. Alger Hiss, on his own initiative, then wrote the World Federation of Trade Unions and told them that any memorandum they would want to make that he would immediately and officially see to it that it was distributed to all delegates, and I think since it became an accomplished fact—

Mr. KEARNEY. In other words, after the conference—

Mr. WALSH. I think you should let me conclude this because it is very important.

Mr. KEARNEY. Go ahead.

Mr. WALSH. "Since then," said Sir Walter Citrine, "the World Federation of Trade Unions has become an accomplished fact."

Now, without knowing at that time, because there was no question of Hiss being involved in any Soviet espionage in 1946—without knowing it at that time, Sir Walter Citrine gives Alger Hiss the credit for the official recognition of the World Federation of Trade Unions, because that is the actual translation.

"Depuis Notre Federation Mondiale devient un fait accompli"—"Since then, the World Federation of Trade Unions has become an accomplished fact."

It is noteworthy that Sir Walter Citrine, leader of the British trade-union movement, subsequently resigned because of the out-and-out control, because of the control exercised by the secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Mr. KEARNEY. What I am getting at, Mr. Walsh: After the conference refused recognition to the federation, according to that letter, the portion you read, Alger Hiss took it upon his own responsibility

to notify the federation that they may send memorandums to him which would be distributed to all the delegates?

Mr. WALSH. Exactly.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I am going to suggest that the staff of our committee pursue this matter further and find out whether that memorandum or letter is actually available, and the circumstances surrounding the issue.

Mr. WALSH. Well, in my opinion, Sir Walter Citrine is a very respectable British gentleman and very anti-Communist. I think he would be willing to cooperate with your committee in determining to what part Hiss acted, officially or unofficially.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you this question, Mr. Walsh: Was it your conclusion or is it set forth in the document itself that recognition had been refused prior to the receipt of this letter from Mr. Alger Hiss?

Mr. WALSH. No; this is marked here in black and in white, what I have read out. It was refused, and after that, he goes on to say—

We received from the Secretary General * * *

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. So, I mean my conclusion—my personal opinion—is that Alger Hiss either got orders from the Communist apparatus or he either decided on his own initiative that he was going to help the recognized Communist body to obtain official status.

I am going to submit this to the committee so you will have entire opportunity—

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I am going to move that particular document be made a part of the record as Walsh Exhibit No. 1.

Mr. TAVENNER. And I would like, Mr. Chairman, that the direction contain the privilege of having it photostated and returning the original.

I have discussed that with the witness prior to his appearance.

Mr. SCHERER. I will make that a part of my request.

Mr. KEARNEY. It will be received.

(The document referred to as "Walsh Exhibit No. 1" is as follows:)

WALSH EXHIBIT No. 1

(LE MOUVEMENT SYNDICAL MONDIAL, APRIL 1946, P. 4)

(Translation by Mrs. Juliette Joray of the committee staff)

Last year, at the San Francisco Conference, we attempted to obtain real recognition for our international movement. It is true that the World Federation [of Trade Unions] was not officially in existence at that time. But, in our proceedings before the conference in San Francisco, we had the power to make this demand through the channel of the administrative committee of the World Trade Union Conference. The leaders of the San Francisco Conference negotiated with us on this basis; indeed, recognition of the Labor World was even conceded in San Francisco. While our demand that representatives be designated to sit as consultants at the San Francisco Conference was refused, we received from the Secretary General of that assembly (Mr. Alger Hiss) an official notification that all communications which we desired to present to the Conference on any subject whatsoever could be made in the form of a memorandum which would be officially and immediately distributed to all the delegations taking part in the Conference in San Francisco. Since then, our World Federation [of Trade Unions] is an accomplished fact. We cannot deny its importance as a fully organized institution representing more than 66½ million workers in 56 countries. Inasmuch as we are an active international organization we must affirm our claim to an organic association with the United Nations Organization for Peace and Security.

PATRICK WALSH EXHIBIT No. 1—Part 1

LE MOUVEMENT SYNDICAL MONDIAL

REVUE DE DOCUMENTATION ÉDITÉE PAR LA FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE

DIRECTEUR LOUIS SAILLANT

SIÈGE SOCIAL PARIS

RÉDACTEURS MICHEL MICHEL PÉREZ

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FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE

RÉDACTION ET ADMINISTRATION

1, RUE VERNET - PARIS (8)

Mr. TAVENNER. It is a very rare document and one that could not be replaced.

Now, do you know of any unions within the United States which became affiliated with this union which was formed in Marseilles in July 1949?

Mr. WALSH. According to my knowledge, and from a study of documents which I have in my possession, the only American union—that is, the only union from the United States—which became officially affiliated was the Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Union, and the name of Hugh Bryson—B-r-y-s-o-n—has frequently been mentioned as being in continual contact with this international union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you repeat the name that you just gave us?

Mr. WALSH. The Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. The name of the individual?

Mr. WALSH. Hugh Bryson.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, it is important for the committee to know and understand the affiliation of these various unions because it is continuously studying those matters, and that is why I have gone into as much detail with you as I have.

Now, this discussion all arose as a result of the meeting in July 1949, at which this new union, which later affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions, was formed.

Now, will you tell the committee, please, when this strike, which you have so graphically described, came to an end and what brought it to an end?

Mr. WALSH. The end of the strike occurred in October 1949 and, as I have explained previously, in my opinion and in the opinion of many of the experts who have studied this strike, it came to an end because the Seafarers' International Union was able to man the strike-bound ships and get the cooperation of the Canadian Government and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in order to prevent serious harm done to the members of the SIU.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you do after the termination of this strike?

Mr. WALSH. Well, at the termination of this strike I was at sea again. I was on another ship.

I think it is good to mention here that when the Canadian Seamen's Union leadership saw that the strike was doomed to failure they ordered all Communists to get back on board the ships by hook or crook, to infiltrate on the ships, to use other names, to get other identification cards, and to try and win back the seamen and to reorganize the Canadian Seamen's Union.

I received these instructions. I was the CSU strike chairman, and I had in my possession three different identification cards, and I was able to change my name, grow a moustache and get back on board the ship without the SIU or the Royal Canadian Mounted Police knowing about it until the ship was away at sea; and this was done by hundreds of Communists in Halifax, Port Alfred, St. John, Quebec, and in Montreal, and we called it Operation Infiltration.

Mr. KEARNEY. Were these all forged cards?

Mr. WALSH. Well, they weren't exactly forged, but it was a custom—an old Communist custom—incidentally, for every Communist seaman to have at least three identification cards, and these were obtained

by simply going to the shipping master in one port, and getting a passport photo. For example, in my case, I had one with a mustache and without a mustache and with my hair combed on the side, and another one I had glasses on. So, it was easy to arrange with the photographer to get them in different ways, because we had them in different ports. So, I imagine there were some Communists that operated on board ship that had five different identification cards.

For the purpose of clarification, I will submit to the committee one of these identification cards so they can see how it was quite possible to hoodwink not only the shipowners, but the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Now, for example, when I was challenged by an SIU patrolman, who asked me if I was any relation to Pat Walsh, I said, "He's my dirty commie cousin." So, I was able to get on board the ship because he was convinced I was very anti-Communist. So, I boarded the SS *Mont Sandra*—S-a-n-d-r-a—Sandra, and was on board that ship for 4 other months, along with 5 other top Communists. In my opinion, this goes to show that you can never take enough precautions and that you can never have too much screening because we did succeed in taking over the ship for a while and in winning over the crew, but the crews on the other ships were not successful. As we came back to our own ports, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the SIU threw us off the ships—first, because we had got on under false pretenses and, second, because the companies had signed a contract with the SIU and not with the Communist agitators.

Mr. TAVENNER. So that your work in attempting to infiltrate the new union, which had been used to break the strike, was unsuccessful?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; it was unsuccessful.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you do after that?

Mr. WALSH. Well, I was sent to Toronto where I became an executive member of the Canadian Peace Congress.

I think the committee is aware of the tactics of the Communists. Communists are often nominated and elected to high positions without consulting any membership.

So, within the next 2 months I was elected to the executive of the Canadian Peace Congress, which is the nationwide Communist front for peace activities—and when I say "peace activities," I should say Soviet peace, because in my 3 years of work with the Canadian Peace Congress, an intimate of Dr. James Endicott, it is my firm opinion that whenever any Communists or sympathizers speak about peace they mean Soviet peace, which we know is just as militaristic as anything that ever existed in history. Soviet peace is exemplified by the invasion of Korea and the taking over of so many countries who are now under the domination of the Communists in Eastern Europe.

I also became a leader of the Canadian Union of Woodworkers. I was the secretary-treasurer, and I was active in many other organizations, such as the Canadian Friends of the Soviet Union, the Quebec Federation of Tenants, the Consumers' League, and many other titles too numerous to mention, but all fronts of the Communist Labor Progressive Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. At whose direction did you take part in those Communist-front activities?

Mr. WALSH. I was also ordered to these new positions by J. B. Salsberg, the Trade Union Commission director of the party. He is the man who decides if one day you're a seaman and the next day you're a tobacco worker, and the next day you're an administrative officer of some other union. He is the one who makes these decisions.

Mr. TAVENNER. As head of these various Communist-front organizations, or as an officer of them, did you have occasion to engage in correspondence with persons in similar positions in other countries?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; I was in continual correspondence with the American counterparts. For example, in civil liberties, I was in correspondence with William Patterson of the Civil Rights Congress here in the United States; and as a member of the Canadian Friends of the Soviet Union I was in correspondence with the American-Russian Institute in San Francisco. In this effect I wish to underline the fact that I was one of the few trade unionists who was chosen by the American-Russian Institute to have their names and their message in a so-called friendship book, which was to be issued last month. So, I don't want the committee to be surprised if they happen to get a copy of this book and see my name and my message of solidarity to the Soviet Union, because this was sent last year when I was still active.

I have a letter here in my possession from Rose Isaak asking me to send a photograph so that she could include this photograph in this friendship stunt.

Mr. SCHERER. Who is Rose?

Mr. WALSH. She's the secretary of the American-Russian Institute in San Francisco. It is a front for the Soviet Government in San Francisco.

Mr. SCHERER. Is she a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALSH. She is known to everyone in Canada who has been to San Francisco as an oldtime member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether the American-Russian Institute, of which you spoke, is the successor in the United States to the Friends of the Soviet Union?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; I believe I have some paper which bears out that fact and, moreover, I have been getting and receiving pamphlets about the Soviet Union, copies of which could be submitted to this committee, as well as various correspondence dealing with Soviet publications.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, the committee has heard a great deal of evidence from time to time about the operation of these various front organizations in this country and how they have carried the Communist Party line and followed the dictates of the Communist Party. I would like to know from you, if you are in a position to state it from your own knowledge, as to whether the activities of organizations of this type are coordinated from one country to another, whether they get the same directives from top sources.

Mr. WALSH. It has always been my experience, in the 18 years of experience I've had with Communist groups, that there is very tightly knit coordination, not only between, for example, American and Canadian Communists, but between Soviet Embassy personnel and the Communist Party apparatus.

That has been proven conclusively in the Canadian spy trials, where Sam Carr, the national organizational secretary of the party, and

Fred Rose, the Communist member of the Parliament, were both caught redhanded in the act of meeting Soviet Embassy personnel, and this was borne out in the testimony of Igor Gouzenko, G-o-u-z-e-n-k-o—the cipher clerk of the Soviet Embassy, who so sensationally ran away with files and copies of letters which definitely proved that Canadian Communists were actively supplying information to personnel of the Soviet Embassy. Both Carr and Rose were found guilty and had every advantage of trial, but the overwhelming weight of evidence was too much against them, and they were both tried, convicted, and sentenced.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, let me ask you a question which I wish you would answer either "Yes" or "No" before making any further statement: Did you have any personal knowledge of any facts relating to the offense for which Fred Rose was tried and convicted?

Mr. WALSH. No.

Mr. SCHERER. Can I interrupt just a minute?

Did you testify at the very opening of the hearing this morning that it was Fred Rose who was your instructor in Marxism?

Mr. WALSH. That's correct.

Mr. SCHERER. How old were you at that time, Mr. Walsh?

Mr. WALSH. I was about 19. In 1935 I was 19.

Mr. SCHERER. Where did he instruct you in Marxism?

Mr. WALSH. In Montreal.

Mr. SCHERER. How old was Rose at that time?

Mr. WALSH. Oh, he must have been about 30.

Mr. SCHERER. And you were about how old?

Mr. WALSH. I was 19.

Mr. SCHERER. Did Fred Rose have any influence on your acceptance of the Communist program and your later subversive activities to which you have testified?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; he was the one who was mainly responsible for having me engage in party activities.

Mr. SCHERER. It is possible, then, for professors to have influence on students if they were Communists and sought to try to teach the Communist Party line, isn't it?

Mr. WALSH. I think it's not only possible; I think it is a fact. I think it is a well-known fact that students can be influenced in political ideological ways by their professors.

In Canada we have the case of Gui Caron, which I mentioned previously. Caron went to Sir George William College. He had no reason at all for having Communist ideas. He came from a very wealthy family, and he fell under the influence of Prof. Stanley B. Ryerson, and Ryerson used to come to Quebec quite often and tell me, "I have a prize pupil and he's going to be somebody some day."

And I told him—I said, "Well, with his background, I think you're going to have a hard time making a Communist out of him."

Well, today, Gui Caron travels to and from Moscow frequently and is the Province leader of the Communist Party and one of the top leaders in the Labor Progressive Party in Quebec.

Mr. SCHERER. Such a professor over the years would have an opportunity to influence adversely many young people toward the Communist Party program?

Mr. WALSH. Well, especially if you get them young, like at my age, when I was 18 or 19. I was unemployed and I thought that, rightly or

wrongly, the Communists were interested in finding a solution to the economic problems of that time.

Mr. SCHERER. Such a professor would have the opportunity to influence them to the extent even that you were influenced, to engage in subversive activities against the Government?

Mr. WALSH. Exactly; but, of course, they go about it in a very psychological way. They don't speak to you about bloody revolution and treason, and things like that. They keep that in the background.

Mr. SCHERER. It is a gradual process.

Mr. WALSH. They begin by A, B, C; before you find out, you are in X, Y, Z.

Mr. SCHERER. Your testimony has been confirmed by many expert witnesses since I have been on this committee, since January. There is no question about what you say in my mind because it has been confirmed many times.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have told us you became a member of the Young Communist League in 1935 and you went on into the work of the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. Let me interrupt again, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. I am sorry, but just for the record at this point, before we get too far away from it, Fred Rose has since been convicted, I believe you testified earlier.

Mr. WALSH. He was convicted and sentenced and has finished his jail sentence.

Mr. SCHERER. For what?

Mr. WALSH. For espionage.

Mr. SCHERER. That is all. I thought it was important to get it in the record.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have not said anything about your being a card-carrying member of the Communist Party. Were you a card-carrying member of the Communist Party at any time?

Mr. WALSH. No; at no time did I ever have a card of either the Communist Party or the Labor Progressive Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why was that?

Mr. WALSH. Well, for various reasons. I think the two main reasons were because I was always entrusted with assignments which were pretty dangerous, and that it's a policy of the Communists whenever somebody has an assignment which is tricky and there's liable to be police intervention in one way or another that we shouldn't be burdened or handicapped with a party card.

The more specific reason in Quebec Province, where I worked and operated, was because of the existence from 1940 of a law which is known as the padlock law, and this padlock law permits police officials to swoop down on Communist Party headquarters any time at all and seize the membership list, and so on and so forth.

So, in Quebec Province it has been very, very hard to carry on Communist propaganda because of this padlock law and, consequently, it was decided that all top Communists who were working in the trade unions, for example, the leaders of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, the leaders of the International Fur and Leather Workers, the leaders of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, all of whom are old-time Communists, have never had party cards.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I was very anxious for that point to be made clear—the fact that a card was or was not issued is not the controlling factor in determining a party's membership.

Mr. WALSH. No, because it has been proven that many so-called fellow travelers who claim they are only fellow travelers are, in reality, old-time Communists who have the special privilege of being exempted from carrying party cards. Of course, today there is no question of a party card because in Canada and the United States no party cards have been issued since 1950, because of the underground nature of the Communist Party both in Canada and in the United States in opposing the Korean war.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you pay dues during any period while you were active in the movement?

Mr. WALSH. Oh, yes; I always paid dues, as well as various assessments and percentages of my salary, which varied according to the work I did.

That is something that the Communist Party never forgets—seeing to it that we kick in as much as possible.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Counsel, I would like to interrupt there.

I am very interested to hear that statement made by you, Mr. Walsh, for the simple reason that we have had various witnesses before the committee who have testified that their dues were nominal—for instance, a quarter a month—but they said what they were interested in was the assessment.

I remember one director from Hollywood who said that he was contributing 5 percent of his salary each month to the Communist Party, and he was asked how much money he was making a month. He said, "\$5,000."

So, if that went on all over the world—and you have just stated it went on in Canada—they must have had certainly a financial war chest.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't that the director, Robert Rossen, Mr. Chairman, who testified he paid \$40,000 to the party over a period of 10 years?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is correct.

Mr. WALSH. I know people in Quebec City who have been paying 10 percent of their salaries for the last 15 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that money used for, in a general way?

Mr. WALSH. Well, to promote Communist Party activities, as all fund-raising by the party is used. It's used primarily for agitation and propaganda purposes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Walsh, we have discovered in some instances that persons who were actually devoting the majority of their time to organizing for the Communist Party had jobs of a responsible nature in certain unions; they were apparently being paid nothing by the Communist Party, but were receiving very substantial salaries from the union. What comment do you have to make about that, as being a practice in the Communist Party?

Mr. WALSH. Well, the reason for that should be quite obvious. When the Communist Party pays money to a functionary, it is paying it out of its own party funds, whereas when the Communist organizer of the Fur and Leather Workers' Union, for example, gets a salary of \$125 a week he is getting that salary from money which comes from the union's funds—and in many cases the union is composed of a

majority of anti-Communist members, like in the case of the United Electrical Workers, where the great majority of the membership are anti-Communist. These people are paying huge salaries to UE organizers, who are all Communists, which means that the Communist Party is always interested in union organizers getting big salaries, because after that the result is very interesting, because they can then clamp down.

MR. TAVENNER. If the Communists can get their own members in positions of leadership in a union, it is one way of paying their salaries?

MR. WALSH. Yes, and at the same time it demonstrates that the anti-Communist members of these unions are really paying for Communist Party activities, whether they know it or not.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you have with you a copy of the so-called padlock law that you referred to?

MR. WALSH. Yes; I have a copy of the padlock law and I will submit it to the committee.

MR. TAVENNER. The committee discovered in February of 1953, through the public press, that you had announced your resignation from a number of Communist organizations. Was that the time that you severed your participation in the Communist movement?

MR. WALSH. Yes. When I resigned, I resigned from all Communist organizations, and I named specifically at least 9 or 10 organizations where I held executive positions.

MR. TAVENNER. And this occurred as late as February of 1953?

MR. WALSH. To be very exact, because it's been one of the greatest days in my life, it was on February the 27th, 1953.

MR. TAVENNER. The committee is interested to know what motivated you in taking that action.

MR. WALSH. Well, there were many factors which motivated me, but the really deciding factor was the question of the Rosenbergs.

MR. KEARNEY. What do you mean by the "question of the Rosenbergs?"

MR. WALSH. Well, I was in the Canadian Union of Woodworkers, and I received instructions from Ilio Bosi of the World Federation of Trade Unions—

MR. TAVENNER. Spell it, please.

MR. WALSH. Bosi—B-o-s-i.

MR. TAVENNER. And the first name also.

MR. WALSH. His first name, Ilio—I-l-i-o.

Bosi was my boss in this section to which I belonged and to which I had been transferred.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has different sections. As you have noticed, I spoke this afternoon and this morning on the seamen and dockers' section, and later I was transferred to the agricultural and forestry workers' section, and as such I was directly under the orders of Ilio Bosi.

Now, I am mentioning Bosi's name because it will come out sooner or later that he was the main Communist responsible for the triumph of the popular front in Guatemala in 1950. Bosi made a secret trip by plane to Cuba, and from there he went to Mexico, and from Mexico he went to Guatemala, where he succeeded in creating, through Communist organizations, the basis of what is known today as the Arbenz Popular Front Government; and this Bosi is an oldtime agent of both

the Comintern, which was dissolved, and the present-day Cominform, which is the international Communist organization.

Mr. SCHIEKER. Where does he live?

Mr. WALSH. He lives in Rome, Italy, but he is often in Moscow. He travels about quite frequently.

Now, I have evidence to substantiate that, and I am going to submit to your committee letters from Bosi and also a report on his trip to Guatemala in 1950, as I referred to it.

Bosi sent me this letter, knowing that I was an oldtime and trusted Communist, and in this letter he requested that our union, the Canadian Union of Woodworkers—that we should pass a resolution, and send him a copy, in favor of clemency for the Rosenbergs.

Now, I think I will have to go back to explain, because of my status in the civil liberties' front organization, what I know about the Rosenberg case as it relates to Canada.

In 1951 I was on the executive board of the League for Democratic Rights, more commonly known in Canada as the LDR, and which is the counterpart of the Civil Rights Congress which you have in the United States and which is the Communist front in the civil liberties group. It is called the Civil Rights Congress, and I have been getting the material and letters from Patterson, and so on and so forth, for the past 3 years, copies of which also will be submitted to the committee.

Now, in 1951 we held a meeting—it was in the latter part of 1951—and this question of the Rosenbergs came up whether we as Canadian Communists, should not take up the clamor for clemency; and William Cashton, C-a-s-h-t-o-n—who was formerly the leader of the Communist League and is now an official of the Labor Progressive Party—he told us that the Communist Party in Canada, the LPP, was going to keep its hands off the Rosenberg affair because of the similarity of the names of Julius Rosenberg and Fred Rose, whose real name, incidentally, is Fred Rosenberg.

Now, after the Canadian spy trials of 1946, the Canadian Communists were dealt a severe blow when it was revealed publicly that so many prominent Communists, including a member of Parliament, had been openly engaged in espionage against the Canadian Government, and there are many people who broke away from the party at that time because they did not want to go that far. They did not consider that treason was the accepted Communist Party doctrine, and that is why the Fred Rose case has been a very touchy one. Cashton explained to us in Toronto that we should just forget all about the Rosenberg affair.

Now, sometime last year apparently—I haven't got the actual proof, but apparently—the worldwide campaign for clemency for the Rosenbergs, which was being sponsored, directed, and supported by Soviet agents all over the globe—and I have newspapers and publications and pamphlets from nearly every country where the Communist Party has an organization, and it is no coincidence that all these appeals follow along the same pattern—it was decided that Canada should not be an exception and that we should join the hue and cry of the Rosenberg clemency campaign.

Now, the way the League for Democratic Rights went about this is an illustration of communistic tactics. They sent word to Regina in Saskatchewan—that is in western Canada—to a Communist there that he should write in and suggest that people in the west were bothered

about this Rosenberg affair and that, in his opinion, we should start a campaign in favor of the Rosenbergs.

MR. TAVENNER. Was he a person of any known record in the Communist Party?

MR. WALSH. Well, he was a member of Parliament—a Communist member of Parliament—and his name is William Kardash—K-a-r-d-a-s-h—a well-known leader of the Ukrainian Communist section of the party for the past 20 years, and also a leader of the International Brigade in Spain between 1936 and 1939.

So, Kardash wrote to the League for Democratic Rights, and we had the excuse that it was not something that was coming from the central body; it was not a campaign that was being imposed because of the decision of the leadership, but that people from the west were anxious that we should do something about it, and in about 2 weeks we began to flood the country with save-the-Rosenbergs pamphlets, petitions, circulars, and what not.

Now, I knew, from a study of the Rosenbergs' case, that, in my opinion, both Rosenbergs were guilty and I was not surprised that such people had been carrying on espionage activities, because of my long experience with the Communist Party, and in my heart and soul I knew that they had had every possible chance for defending themselves and that they could thank God they were living in America where they had the right to have a lawyer and to defend themselves and to enjoy the benefits of counsel, something which is denied to every citizen in the Soviet Union and every other country behind the Iron Curtain. They certainly had more chance than Comrade Beria is going to get, and in my heart and soul I could not endorse or have anything to do with something which smacked of treason.

So, at a meeting of the Canadian Union of Woodworkers' Executive I publicly—this was on December the 15th, 1952—I opposed the resolution by the president, Gerard Fortain—I will spell that—Gerard Fortain—G-e-r-a-r-d, Gerard; and Fortain—F-o-r-t-a-i-n—who was a well-known Communist leader in Canada—I opposed his resolution that in the name of 100,000 bush workers, which incidentally we did not represent because at the very most we only had 5,000 members—that in the name of 100,000 French-Canadian bush workers we were going to request President Eisenhower to grant clemency to the Rosenbergs.

Well, I opposed the motion and I made a vigorous statement, which even rallied some of the Communists, and the motion was voted down; but I knew from that day on that my days were counted—that if I didn't move fast, they would.

So, I prepared everything, and I got as many documents and letters as possible, and I timed my resignation so that it would have the most effect against Communist Party plans in Canada.

That was one of the factors—the question of the Rosenbergs. It was what we would call the straw that broke the camel's back, but the main reason was because Bruce Magnuson—I will spell that—B-r-u-c-e, Bruce; and Magnuson—M-a-g-n-u-s-o-n—who was the leader of the Canadian Union of Woodworkers, and a Communist of old-time standing, having been in the Communist Party for at least 20 years, a man who was interned by the Canadian Government for subversive activities in 1940. He went to Russia in 1951 and on his

return gave us instructions—and when I say “us,” I mean the Communists who were working in the Canadian Union of Woodworkers—there were about 40 of us old-time, hard-core Communists. He gave us directions and instructions that in the event of a war with the Soviet Union we were to sabotage and blow up hydroelectric plants that were situated not very far away from lumber camps, and to that effect, that he would give the signal, all of our trusted Communists within this woodworkers’ union would be sent to camps adjacent to hydroelectric plants.

Now, this message was given to us by Marc Leclerc.

I will spell that—M-a-r-c, Marc; second name, Leclerc—L-e-c-l-e-r-c—the former president of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers’ Union, expelled by the A. F. of L. in 1951 for Communist activities, also interned by the Canadian Government in 1939 because of subversive activities, and Leclerc’s instructions were verbally told to Gerard Fortain, whom I have mentioned previously, and to myself in Montreal.

Leclerc had been an organizer of the bush workers’ union for the past 10 years and was very influential among the French-Canadian section of the Communist Party.

Now, I wish to point out that practically all the leaders of this Canadian Union of Woodworkers, with the exception of Magnuson and Leclerc, were all former top CSU leaders. Gerard Fortain was the business agent in Montreal; I was the CSU strike chairman; and seven of our organizers were either patrolmen or top officials of the Canadian Seamen’s Union. That is to say that the Communists knew that sabotage was nothing new to us, that we had been overseas, and that we had participated in the CSU strike, and that also on the west coast many of these organizers had sabotaged war material being sent to the Chiang Kai-shek Government, so that we should have no compunction, in their estimates, of carrying on the mere firing of forests and the blowing up of hydroelectric plants in the event of war with the Soviet Union. That was something to be expected of us.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Witness, may I interrupt?

When was the date of these instructions to blow up these hydroelectric plants?

Mr. WALSH. These instructions were given to us by Marc Leclerc in September of 1952.

Mr. SCHERER. That late?

Mr. WALSH. Yes. That was previous to the meeting which was held.

Now, I wish to state at this point that Marc Leclerc was an old-time infiltrator in the shipyards. Now, he left Bruce Magnuson and he went to work in the shipyards at Port Arthur to try and form Communist cells there. He was there for some time and he arrived in Montreal very secretly—nobody knew about it—to take over the shipyards at Vickers, which were controlled by an anti-Communist union. He changed his name, and he altered his appearance somewhat—to what extent I don’t know, but he went to work in the shipyards at Vickers and began to create a Communist cell, which again was formed by old-time Communists who had been in the CSU. For example, I can name two of them—Scotty MacDonald and Torch Torchniuk. Torchniuk is spelled—T-o-r-c-h-n-i-u-k.

Mr. SCHERER. Were any of these hydroelectric plants on or near the international boundary between Canada and the United States?

Mr. WALSH. No; in this particular respect these hydroelectric plants were concentrated in the Shipshaw area, which I have mentioned previously this morning, in the Lake St. John district.

I wish to point out if these plants were sabotaged it would deal a crippling blow to the aluminum production because the huge majority of the aluminum is made in Arvida, in Canada, and if these plants were to blow up or be sabotaged seriously that it would deal a crippling blow to the aluminum output of the world.

Mr. SCHERER. In which section were the forest fires to be started?

Mr. WALSH. The forest fires were to be started in every place where we had Communist Party members who were reliable.

Mr. SCHERER. Would any of those locations be near the international boundary?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; for example, in Maine, on both sides of the border, where we always had trusted Communist organizers, one of them who has been coming in and out of the States in the last 4 or 5 years, and his name I will submit publicly. His name is Oscar Valcourt—

Mr. TAVENNER. Spell it.

Mr. WALSH. I will spell that. Oscar—O-s-c-a-r; and Valcourt—V-a-l-c-o-u-r-t.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which you knew him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALSH. Well, he was arrested as a Communist Party member in 1939. He was also arrested on various other occasions arising out of Communist-led strikes, and I've met him frequently at Communist Party meetings where I participated.

Mr. SCHERER. These people you have been identifying recently in your testimony are all Canadians, are they not?

Mr. WALSH. They're all Canadians and they are well known to the police as Communists of old standing.

Mr. SCHERER. Are there any Americans that you know who acted in a capacity similar to these men that you have been testifying about?

Mr. WALSH. Well, I never worked in the United States for the Communist Party because, as you can see by my—

Mr. SCHERER. I understand that. I just wanted to know if by chance you knew of any.

Mr. WALSH. I have no positive proof.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, the two experiences which you have told us about—the proposed sabotage and the directions in regard to the Rosenberg case—were the reasons of your breaking from the party.

Now, prior to the time you broke with the party, had you cooperated with anti-Communist groups?

I am not asking you to state in what manner, but merely whether or not you had, for a period of time, cooperated with anti-Communist groups while you were still in the Communist movement?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; for a number of years—I should have stated this at the start of my testimony, but the questions were about the great strike—the CSU strike—for a number of years I have had no illusions on what communism is. I was led to believe that it was something which I found out subsequently was very contrary to the idealism that I had attached to the idea; and when I woke up, so to speak, and when I finally realized to what extent that such things as treason and

sabotage and murder and assassination were part and parcel of the Communist doctrine and practice, I decided to break away from the Communists; but I met some people who were undercover agents within the Communist Party and who convinced me that I should continue in order to gather as much information as possible, so that I would be able to testify later on as to the extent and to the seriousness of the menace of communism which, unfortunately, the people in Canada at that time did not take very seriously, and I was able to cooperate with various anti-Communist groups in giving them advance information and to put the brakes on many violent outbreaks and to even prevent scuttling of a ship. The *Mont Rolland* was scheduled to be scuttled and I prevented the scuttling of that ship.

MR. TAVENNER. I will only ask the witness if you saved the scuttling of the ship with the risk of divulging the fact that you were at least lukewarm in the Communist movement.

MR. WALSH. Yes; I took a very great risk. In fact, I took the risk of being murdered by Communists; but, on the other hand, the ship was not scuttled.

MR. KEARNEY. Well, I think that is the perfect answer, Mr. Walsh. The main thing is that the ship was not scuttled.

I suggest counsel defer any further questions on that.

MR. TAVENNER. I am interested to know one other thing. You have told us, as a result of the international conspiracy which brought about this worldwide ship strike, that the shipowners lost many millions of dollars, that the Marshall plan was retarded, that a great many people suffered because of it in the economy of Great Britain and other places. I am interested to know what happened to the rank-and-file members of the Canadian Seamen's Union who participated in that strike and who were induced to become members of it, though not members of the Communist Party.

MR. WALSH. Well, I think that is the tragic part in the strike, that these Canadian seamen, who were loyal to Canada, the majority of them who had no Communist ideas whatsoever, by following the leadership of the Canadian Seamen's Union in this strike and by being active participants in the strike, were blacklisted for life because of their actions. This meant that a union which had 10,000 members that were sailing either on the Great Lakes or on the Atlantic Ocean or on the St. Lawrence River, jeopardized the livelihood of all of these men by carrying on something which was so obviously doomed to failure; but in my experiences in the Communist movement I have often noticed the utter and callous disregard of the Communist leaders toward the rank and file. I have noticed that not only in Canada, but in European countries.

For example, in France during the great coal strike of 1948 there were some French miners there who were killed; others were wounded and others were blacklisted for life just because the Communist Party wanted to carry on a political strike which had nothing to do with the wages or increased living conditions, or any other trade-union principles. The Communist leadership had this strike and the membership was hoodwinked into believing that it was a bona fide trade union fight and that they had to put up with hardships, and it is not only a question of the people involved; it is a question of the womenfolk and the children. In the CSU strike it was not only the question of

the Canadian seamen; it was a question of the dockers of London and the dockers of San Francisco and Seattle, and dockers all over the world, who lost millions and millions of dollars in salary for something which was no concern of theirs whatsoever, which had nothing to do with trade-union principles, and these dockers, in losing that amount of money, of course, contributed to the hardship of their womenfolk and to their children.

And, so, I think the tragic thing in political strikes that are led by Communists is the fact that it is the innocent people who suffer, because no matter what the outcome of these strikes, the Communist leaders are always transferred to other jobs.

Now I, myself, for example, had I been utterly cruel and callous, I would have just sneered and said, "Well, I don't have to worry; I'm sure of getting another job," which I did and which all the other leaders did. I give you a few examples: Harry Davis was transferred to the Fur and Leather Workers' Union; Bob Nuttal was transferred to the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers; George Thibault was transferred to the Brotherhood of Canadian Seamen; Gerard Fortain was transferred to the Canadian Union of Woodworkers; Real Couillard was transferred to the Canadian Union of Woodworkers. I could go on and name you 50 or 60 other chaps, including Harry Gulkin, from one day to the other just were transferred from one job to another.

So that means the Communist leaders never have to face hardships. It's just the poor dupes who have blindly followed their instructions who are the ones who have to suffer the consequences of these political strikes and attempts at sabotage.

Does that answer your question, Mr. Tavenner?

MR. TAVENNER. Yes; it does, very fully, and satisfactorily.

The question was raised as to whether or not you gave the spelling of Sir Walter Citrine. Will you give it to us now to be certain that we have it?

MR. WALSH. Well, you have the document itself, and it's under the heading of Sir Walter Citrine—C-i-t-r-i-n-e.

MR. TAVENNER. Would you agree, Mr. Walsh, that your experience in this tremendous conspiracy has been such as to indicate that no members of the Communist Party, in your judgment, should be permitted to occupy positions of leadership in any key organizations any place in the free world?

MR. WALSH. I think it should be very elementary and it should be very obvious to anyone who has made a serious study of not only communism but of the methods of the Communists, that when Communist leaders or Communist organizers are allowed to control or to have a key position in any industry, that they are not only jeopardizing the future of that industry but, by carrying out blindly and obediently every dictate of their Moscow overlords, they are threatening the security of their own country.

MR. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

MR. SCHERER. Mr. Walsh, you have ably outlined the pattern and program of the Communist infiltration into certain Canadian labor unions. Would you say, from your experience, your knowledge of the Communist conspiracy, that that same or similar program of infiltration was followed by the Communist Party in the labor unions of all non-Communist countries, including the United States?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; it is obvious that the same pattern is being followed everywhere; and I think in the United States that it is even more accentuated, in the sense that the party here has gone or is going underground, and that it is continually being harassed undoubtedly by the Soviet Union to even greater efforts, because whenever the party appears to be weak it is there you have to be the most vigilant, because they are working day and night. There is something that we must admit, in all honesty, is that the Communist Party organizers really devote a lot of time and energy to undermining the free institutions of the world.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, would you say, then, that hearings such as this committee is conducting, which exposes the nature and method of this infiltration into labor unions, would be a valuable thing to enlightening the great mass of workers who are anti-Communists, so that they could recognize these methods and this program when they happen to come in contact with them in the shop, would you not, Mr. Walsh?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; I think it is very important to spotlight not only these activities, but all activities of the Communists, to prove the duplicity of the Communists and their two-faced methods, because no worker who really experiences communism can now swallow the lies and deceptions of the Communists.

Mr. SCHERER. Actually, isn't an exposure such as we are having here today perhaps the greatest weapon to defeat the Communist conspiracy in the cold war?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; I think that what I have said today will certainly help, first of all, people who are apathetic to realize the seriousness of the Communist menace and at the same time it will alert people to the reality of the potential threat of communism—not only in Europe, but in all parts of the globe.

Mr. SCHERER. And it isn't always numbers that count; it is organization?

Mr. WALSH. Oh, yes; definitely. There's an old saying which Communists continually trot out—and that is that 3 determined men in a plant can do more work from a sabotage viewpoint than 3,000 men who don't know what to do, or something similar. It is a French saying, which I am badly translating, but it goes to prove that people who are determined to do something and who receive instructions and blindly obey party orders can be counted upon to do anything.

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, Mr. Walsh, as chairman of this subcommittee, I want to say to you that I think, from this most revealing testimony that you have given here today, that you have given something to the people of our country. I mean my own country. You, as a Canadian citizen, to come here and give it to us voluntarily shows the universal or, shall we say, the global menace of this Communist octopus that has got its tentacles all over the world.

I want to say to you that, in my humble opinion, you have rendered a great public service to the people of our country, and I want to express my thanks and the thanks of the committee for your coming here.

Mr. WALSH. I thank you.

Mr. KEARNEY. The committee will stand in recess until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 4:20 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 10:30 a. m., Tuesday, July 14, 1953.)

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE ALBANY, N. Y., AREA—Part 1

TUESDAY, JULY 14, 1953

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Albany, New York.
PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 1:35 a. m., in courtroom No. 1 of the Federal Building, Albany, N. Y., Hon. Bernard W. Kearney (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Bernard W. Kearney (chairman of the subcommittee) and Gordon H. Scherer.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk; James A. Andrews and Earl L. Fuoss, investigators; and Mrs. Rosella Purdy, secretary to counsel.

Mr. KEARNEY. The committee will be in order.

Mr. Counsel, have you your first witness ready?

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call Mr. Nicholas Campas.

Will you come forward, please?

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Campas, will you stand and raise your right hand?

Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CAMPAS. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please, sir?

Mr. JONES. May I interrupt just a moment, Mr. Chairman?

I understand, from your counsel, that the witness has the right to refuse a broadcast of his testimony.

Mr. KEARNEY. Under the rules of the committee; yes.

Mr. JONES. We so request.

Mr. KEARNEY. And the broadcasting will be discontinued upon the request of the witness.

TESTIMONY OF NICHOLAS CAMPAS, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ABBOTT H. JONES, JR.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please, sir?

Mr. CAMPAS. Nicholas Campas.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel, Mr. Campas?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please state his name and address for the benefit of the record?

Mr. JONES. Mr. Counsel, my name is Abbott H. Jones, Jr., with offices for the practice of my profession at 5 Broadway, Troy, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Campas?

Mr. CAMPAS. November 29, 1916, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation?

Mr. CAMPAS. I am the business manager for the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union, Local 583, in Troy.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you reside?

Mr. CAMPAS. 129 Fourth Street, Troy, N. Y.

Mr. KEARNEY. Counsel, may I interrupt just a moment?

In order not to disturb the witness' testimony, I wish the camera-men would take pictures now before the witness starts his testimony.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Campas, will you advise the committee, please, what your formal education training has been?

Mr. CAMPAS. I went as far as the ninth grade, public schools.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your work record has been since 1934?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, from 1934 until early 1936 I worked as a busboy in the city of New York.

In the summer of 1936 I worked in a summer resort in Vermont as a busboy, in a hotel.

From the fall of 1936 until the early part of 1937 I worked as a busboy in the city of Albany, in various restaurants.

From 1937 until the early part of 1940 I worked as a waiter in the city of Albany, in various restaurants and hotels.

From 1940 until the middle of 1945 I worked as a waiter in the city of Troy, in various hotels and restaurants.

With one exception, of approximately 3 months in 1943, that I was in the city of New York, that I was working as a waiter.

From 1945 until 1946, for approximately 10 months, I was the business agent of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union in Albany.

From 1946, in July, until the present date I have been business agent and business manager for the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union in Troy.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what is the number of your local union?

Mr. CAMPAS. 583.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has information, Mr. Campas, that you have had some experience in the Communist Party. Is it true that you have been a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with it or any of its organizations?

Mr. CAMPAS. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, when your affiliation with the Communist Party or any of its groups first took place, and where?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, it first took place in the city of New York sometime in the early part of 1935, when I joined the Young Communist League.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the circumstances under which you became a member of the Young Communist League in New York?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, at that time I was working as a busboy, as I stated previously, off and on. Work was not too plentiful; conditions

were not the best; the hours were quite long; the pay was quite low, and the Communists at that time promised that they would try to work and improve conditions for labor, and being interested in labor, because I was a worker myself, I fell for their line and I joined.

In addition, they compared conditions in the United States with conditions in the Soviet Union. For example, they pointed out at that time there was no depression in the Soviet Union; everybody was working; there were no labor problems, while in the United States we had unemployment, hunger marches, and so on.

In other words, what happened was that they painted such a rosy picture of what they were going to do and what they could do that I joined, primarily because I was interested as a worker in trying to better myself and to better the conditions of the workers generally.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain a member of the Young Communist League in the City of New York?

Mr. CAMPAS. Until the early part of 1936, when I went to Vermont.

Mr. TAVENNER. During that period of time what was the chief interest of the Young Communist League in the city of New York?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, the group that I belonged to was composed of people who were in various hotel and restaurant unions and the primary work of that group was to work within these hotels and restaurant unions.

At that time there were two types of restaurant workers' unions. There was what is known as the leftwing Food Workers' Industrial Union and there was the American Federation of Labor Restaurant Workers' Union, and the purpose of the Communists in the food workers' union was to try to get enough influence in the American Federation of Labor Restaurant Workers' Union so that the Food Workers' Industrial Union could be taken into the American Federation of Labor and then there would be only one union and, by the same token, the Communists in the leftwing union would become part of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the leaders in the Young Communist League in New York—that is, the branch or the group that you were affiliated with?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, the leader of that particular branch was a girl by the name of Irene Short.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how she was employed at that time?

Mr. CAMPAS. She worked as a counter girl, if I recall correctly, in one of the cafeterias.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of all the persons who were members of the Young Communist League group of which you were a member that you can now recall?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, in addition to the one named, I remember Shirley Fields, Jim Bartlett, who was an organizer of the Young Communist League; Leo Gersteinheim.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell that name, please?

Mr. CAMPAS. Gersteinheim, G-e-r-s-t-i-n-h-e-i-m.

In addition to those, there was Arthur Barry—

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name?

Mr. CAMPAS. B-a-r-r-y; Manning Johnson.

Mr. TAVENNER. How well did you learn to know Manning Johnson?

Mr. CAMPUS. Well, he was a member of the Communist Party and he was assigned to this group as sort of an overseer, being an older person.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you later learn that Manning Johnson had risen to a very high place in the Young Communist League and in the Communist Party in this Country?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes; I heard of it, but I didn't know it of personal knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. In fact, he was sent to a special school in Moscow?

Mr. CAMPAS. I heard that also.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you had any occasion to be associated with him since your membership, since you left New York City in 1936?

Mr. CAMPUS. No; not that I can recall. I think the last time I saw him was approximately that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think I should state for the benefit of the record here, although it is well known generally, that Manning Johnson finally broke with the Communist Party and has testified very fully before our committee.

Mr. CAMPAS. In addition to those names, I have one more name of the persons I met during that period. Bill Lawrence. He was a Communist Party organizer for the midtown area in the city of New York, what was known as section 2—that's the garment area—who later was sent to Spain as a commissar of some sort during the civil war in Spain.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Lawrence a full-time functionary of the Communist Party at that time or did he have other employment?

Mr. CAMPAS. No; at the time I met him he was a full-time organizer for the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you stated in 1936 you left New York City, and went, for a short time, to Vermont.

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any Communist Party experience in Vermont?

Mr. CAMPAS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you in Vermont?

Mr. CAMPAS. Approximately 3 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then, after leaving Vermont, I believe you came to Albany; is that—

Mr. CAMPAS. That's correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you affiliate with the Young Communist League in Albany on your arrival here?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain affiliated with the Young Communist League here in Albany?

Mr. CAMPAS. From the fall of 1936 until approximately the end of 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason for your disassociation with the Young Communist League in 1937?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, if I remember correctly, at that time, upon the reaching of a certain age, the purpose of the Young Communist League were more or less automatically transferred into the Communist Party if they were acceptable to the party, and upon reaching my 21st birthday I became a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that took place here in Albany?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before proceeding to your activity within the Communist Party in Albany, I would like to ask you whether or not you can advise the committee of the activities of the Young Communist League here in Albany between 1936 and 1937 when you went into the Communist Party.

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, the group, as such, was quite small and primarily composed of the sons and daughters, relatives of Communist Party members and at that time——

Mr. TAVENNER. At that point, can you tell the committee what method was used, if you know, of getting the sons and daughters of Communist Party members into the Young Communist League?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, that I can't state from personal knowledge, not being the son of a Communist, but I suppose the father, or whoever the elder was—he more or less indoctrinated the child and, upon reaching the age, he brought him into the Young Communist League.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well, if you will proceed——

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, the work, as I said—the group was quite small, and the work that they did—at the time the Spanish civil war was in progress and they were active in that, in attempting to lift the Neutrality Act by circularizing Members of the Congress, urging them to repeal the Neutrality Act.

They participated in work for boycotting Japanese goods.

They participated in work for boycotting the shipment of military supplies to Japan, because at that time the Japanese were fighting in China.

And they were also active, to some extent, in the American Labor Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. There must have been leadership exerted over that group in order to take part in the activities you have described. Do you know the source of that leadership at that time?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, the source of the leadership is the Communist Party itself. The organizer, if that's who you mean, was a person named Herbert Parker.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know anything of the present whereabouts of Herbert Parker?

Mr. CAMPAS. No, sir; I haven't seen him since that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee the names of those that you can recall who were members of the Young Communist League with you in Albany?

Mr. CAMPAS. I remember Arnold Dorenz.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name?

Mr. CAMPAS. D-o-r-e-n-z.

Mr. TAVENNER. D-o-r-e-n-z?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir. Louis Geller.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name?

Mr. CAMPAS. G-e-l-l-e-r.

And Ruth——

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, just a moment. Can you give any further information or description of Louis Geller?

Mr. CAMPAS. No, sir; I haven't seen him since that time, that I can recall. I met him on the street some time later, but outside of that I don't know anything about him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed?

Mr. CAMPAS. One more person—Ruth Jennings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give any more descriptive information regarding her?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, she was from Schenectady, and she was connected with work in organizing the American Locomotive Workers at the time.

That is about all.

Mr. TAVENNER. What area was covered by the membership of the Young Communist League here in Albany?

Mr. CAMPAS. It was Albany, the group I was in, but this particular girl came over from Schenectady at times.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, any further circumstances that you recall regarding your transition from membership in the Young Communist League, to membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, there was nothing that I could add, except what I have already said—more or less automatically I was transferred from one group into the other.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you became a member of the Communist Party, were you a member of a labor union?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the designation of your union?

Mr. CAMPAS. It was the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union, Local 471.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time you became a member of the Communist Party, had the Communist Party succeeded in obtaining any extensive membership in that union?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, not very extensive at that time. The extensive membership came later.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you explain to the committee all you can now recall relating to the group of the Communist Party that you united with here in Albany?

I believe we should start out by stating what its objectives were, as far as you could ascertain from your membership in it.

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, this particular group that I became a member of was composed exclusively of members of the hotel and restaurant union, and their objective was to get control of the union. That was the primary objective.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did this group of the Communist Party proceed in its effort to get control of your local union?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, the first step—they recruited the business agent of the union into the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was that?

Mr. CAMPAS. Jack Davis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then what followed after that?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, the second step—the person who recruited Jack Davis into the Communist Party became an organizer for the union. The person at present is deceased, and the—

Mr. TAVENNER. This person that you say is now deceased, what function did he perform in the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, in the Communist Party he was the leader of that particular group that we were a part of. In other words, he did

all the leading work and it was his assignment, I presume, to get the business agent of the union into the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. In light of the activity of that individual, I think I should ask you his name.

Mr. CAMPAS. His name was Gus Cakoulis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name, please?

Mr. CAMPAS. C-a-k-o-u-l-i-s.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was the leader of this Communist group?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of your local union at the time you first learned he was the leader of your group of the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What else was done in the effort of the Communist Party to gain control of your local union?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, the next step—I became the president of the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did your membership in the Communist Party contribute to your being elected as president?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you explain to the committee, please, the basis for your statement?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, when the question of nominations for officers of the union came up, the members of the Communist Party in that union caucused and decided as to who would be the candidate. Having been picked, they went out and they campaigned to see that the candidates which they had picked and endorsed were sure of election.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it publicly known among the members of your union that you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. I don't think so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had an effort been made to conceal the fact of membership of those who were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, we didn't go out and advertise it, if that's what you mean, but definitely there was some effort made that it was not to be known that the people who were in the Communist Party were such because I think it would have been quite unpopular.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many members did you have in your local union at that time?

Mr. CAMPAS. Approximately 700.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee whether or not this Communist Party group was successful in taking over this local union at that time?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes; they were, because in addition to the three officers they are able to get a couple of their members on the executive committee. Consequently, they had practically full control of the leadership at least.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you think was the greatest strength of the Communist Party numerically at any one time in your local union?

Mr. CAMPAS. Not more than 10 at one time.

Mr. TAVENNER. How can it be that 10 members of the Communist Party could take over, so to speak, a union consisting of 700 members?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, the members of the Communist Party who were in the union were most active members. They worked very hard. If

there was anything to be done, they were the ones that went out and did it. The membership as a whole of the union were indifferent. They didn't participate actively in the union affairs. They just took the attitude: "Oh, well, I am a member. I pay my dues. We'll let George do it." The Communists didn't operate that way. They were the ones that did it. They were George. They did the work and, consequently, they gained the confidence of these people and they were able to stay in leadership.

Mr. SCHERER. The Communists in the labor union were also specifically trained in methods of taking over the labor unions and controlling them, weren't they?

Mr. CAMPAS. That's true.

Mr. SCHERER. You received special instructions?

Mr. CAMPAS. That's correct, as far as I know.

The membership of the union failed to exercise their rights—democratic rights in coming to vote, attending meetings, and so forth—and, naturally, they didn't know there was such a group active in carrying on this work.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your testimony in that respect is quite similar to the testimony of another witness before this committee a year or two ago, Mr. Matthew Cvetic, who described to this committee how a labor union in the steel industry in Pittsburgh, consisting of 2,800 members, was taken over by a Communist group organized among them and that group never consisted of more than 20 individuals.

Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Without going into details, when did you cease to become a member of the party?

Mr. CAMPAS. The early part of 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. In looking back over your experience in the Communist Party, what would be the most effective manner in which the rank and file of a union could oppose the taking over of their union by members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. The most effective way would be for them to take an interest in their union, to attend their meetings, to exercise their right to go and vote and participate in all the activities of the union and not sit back and let somebody else do the job. As the honorable Congressman said, they were trained to do the job.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of course, also in the fight of the rank and file of a union to keep the Communists out of leadership, it is necessary for them to know who the members of the Communist Party are; is that not true?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And in that respect, the work of this committee is of such value, would you not say, to rank-and-file members of a union, in that it frequently discloses those who are active in the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir; and that's the reason I am here.

Mr. SCHERER. I believe, Mr. Campas, you said, in the beginning of your testimony, that there was some infiltration in the American Labor Party by the Communists, or what statement did you make with reference to Communists connection with the American Labor Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. I said the Young Communist League at that time did do some work in connection with the American Labor Party, in the sense that they passed out leaflets and campaign literature, and such as that.

Mr. SCHERER. Was there attempt in your membership in the Communist Party to take over the American Labor Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. Not at that time.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you have some questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

You did have experience of that character at a later time?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state what other activities this group of the Communist Party engaged in, in addition to its effort to take over your local union?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, after gaining control of the union, they proceeded to participate in the same kind of work I mentioned earlier of the Young Communist League—the Japanese boycott, boycott the shipping of military supplies to Japan; raising of funds for the Spanish relief; petitioning Congress to repeal the Neutrality Act; attempting to recruit some members of the union into the Communist Party, and raising funds for the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the source of the directives which led to that action?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, at most of the meetings of this group I attended at that time there was a—what was known as the section organizer present—that is, the organizer of the Communist Party—and he usually brought the directives to the group from the district headquarters which was in New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of those who acted as district organizers or section organizers during the period that you are now speaking of? That would be from 1937 until about what date?

Mr. CAMPAS. Until the first part of 1940, April or May.

At that time, I would say the early 1937, there was Joseph Klein.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell Klein?

Mr. CAMPAS. K-l-e-i-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where Joseph Klein is now?

Mr. CAMPAS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you learn whether he left this country at a later date?

Just answer "Yes" or "No."

Mr. CAMPAS. Only from hearsay, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether this person, Joe Klein, was known by any other name?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir; he was known by the name of Joseph Stone, S-t-o-n-e.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you say he was an organizer during part of this period?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you name others, please?

Mr. CAMPAS. Dorothy Loeb—L-o-e-b—and also known as Dorothy Klein, supposedly his wife, and acted as his assistant.

And later, for the most part from 1938 to 1940, there was Max Gordon.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were all those individuals located in the city of Albany during the period they were section organizers or district organizers?

Mr. CAMPAS. No, sir; Klein and Loeb were in Schenectady in 1937, and after they left Gordon was in Albany.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of a section organizer. What was meant by the term "section"?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, if my memory serves me correctly, the State of New York was known as district 2 and it was divided up into sections, and the capital district was a section. That would be Albany, Troy, Schenectady, and the surrounding communities.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were those occasions when section meetings were held—that is, where representatives from the different branches were in attendance at a conference or meeting?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes; they held what were known as section conventions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were these occasions when section meetings were other groups of the Communist Party which were interested in different objectives from that which your group was primarily interested?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, there were, to my knowledge—not personal knowledge that I attended these meetings, but from what I understood at that time there was a State employees' group, a professional group, a peace group and one neighborhood group.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you stated you had not at any time attended one of the meetings of those groups?

Mr. CAMPAS. Not that I can recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a section meeting made up of representatives from those various groups?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many section meetings did you attend?

Mr. CAMPAS. One that I can recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was it held and where was it held?

Mr. CAMPAS. It was held in the city of Albany, some time in 1938 or early 1939.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many people were in attendance at that meeting?

Mr. CAMPAS. At this moment, I would say approximately 50 to 75; but they were not all delegates. Some of them were just members of the Communist Party who came in as spectators and sat in, but didn't participate. I couldn't say how many actual delegates there were, but there were approximately 50 to 75 people in the room.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the Communist Party organizer at that time?

Mr. CAMPAS. Max Gordon.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the general purpose of that section meeting?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, at that time the Communist Party operated in this way: That prior to a national convention they would have sectional conventions who would elect delegates to district conventions, and then the district delegates would elect delegates to the national convention; and the line that was going to be followed that was taken by the national convention was discussed beforehand in the sections and districts.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall any action that was taken at that particular section meeting which is still in your memory?

Of course, it wouldn't be in your memory unless you recalled it, but is there anything of any particular importance that you can recall that occurred during that meeting?

Mr. CAMPAS. No, except the reports were made of the various groups that were represented; but I cannot recall any particular action that was taken or any particular subject that was discussed.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of the reports that were made from these various cells or groups of the party?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, each group reported on their activity and the progress they were making in carrying out the work of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you do not recall the substance of those reports at this late time?

Mr. CAMPAS. No; I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall who made reports at that meeting, or some of them who made reports?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, the person who made the report for our group is the same person I mentioned earlier, who is now deceased.

The main report was made by a woman. That was what I would call the keynote address, as they do in all political conventions. That is, someone makes the keynote address, and this woman did that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was she?

Mr. CAMPAS. At that time she was known by the name of Amalia Pesko; now known as Crago.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the spelling of Pesko?

Mr. CAMPAS. P-e-s-k-o.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of other persons who reported the activities of their branches or cells?

Mr. CAMPAS. No; I cannot at this time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of some of those who were present and took part in this section meeting?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like for you to give the committee the names of those persons.

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, in addition to myself and this person who is now deceased and Pesko, there was Jack Davis, who was at that time the business agent of our union.

From Gloversville, there was a Clarence Carr.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did this section include Gloversville?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, as far as I know, it did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of others, if you can recall them?

Mr. CAMPAS. John Wright.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what branch or group of the Communist Party he was from?

Mr. CAMPAS. I understood he was from the State employees' group at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give any further identifying information regarding him?

When you say he was from the State employees' group, did that mean he was employed by the State government at that time?

Mr. CAMPAS. That's what I understood, and anything further is that he was active in the State and for his union. He was head of, what was known at that time as, State, County, and Municipal Workers' Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any association at any later time in Communist Party work with John Wright?

Mr. CAMPAS. Not directly, only that I saw him occasionally; and after seeing him at this meeting, then I knew that he was a Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, will you proceed, please?

Mr. CAMPAS. Another person present at this meeting was Charles Dorenz.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give any further identifying information regarding him?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, as far as I knew, he was a painter, member of the painter's union, and also a delegate to the Central Federation of Labor from the painters' union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well. Will you proceed, please?

Mr. CAMPAS. Another person present at this convention was Herbert Feay.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name, please?

Mr. CAMPAS. As far as I can recall, it was spelled F-e-a-y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us further identifying information regarding him?

Mr. CAMPAS. As far as I knew, he was a State employee, and that is about all I knew of him.

Another person present at this meeting was David Rappaport.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what branch of the Communist Party he was a member of?

Mr. CAMPAS. As far as I know, he was a member of the State employees' branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us any further identifying information regarding Mr. Rappaport?

Mr. CAMPAS. Also active in the State, County and Municipal Workers' Union, which at that time was trying to organize the State employees.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are there any other members or any other persons whose names you can now recall who attended that section convention or such meeting?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes; James King—K-i-n-g.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give further identifying information regarding him?

Mr. CAMPAS. At that time I understood he was an officer of the State, County and Municipal Workers' Union and that he also acted as an officer for a local of a cleaners' and dyers' union that was formed in the city.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is the name Rappaport spelled as it is pronounced? Possibly you should spell it.

Mr. CAMPAS. R-a-p-p-a-p-o-r-t.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any others who attended that convention that you can now recall?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, the organizer, Max Gordon, of course; he was there; but I cannot recall at this time the names of any other persons who were present.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall who were elected at this convention to attend the State convention of the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. The only one that I can remember was Max Gordon, the organizer. I knew he was elected, but outside of that I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. There were others elected, but you do not recall who they were?

Mr. CAMPAS. As far as I can recall, there were two elected. He was one, and another; but I cannot recall at this time who the other person was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend the State convention of the Communist Party as a delegate?

Mr. CAMPAS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Not having attended a State convention, I assume, then, you did not attend a national convention?

Mr. CAMPAS. Not as a delegate. I was in New York at one time during the course of a national convention. I did attend—not as a delegate but as a spectator. I drove down to New York with Max Gordon. He was a delegate and I just drove down with him and attended the convention.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time attend a State convention of your union, which was the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union?

Mr. CAMPAS. Not at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Not during the period from 1936 until 1940?

Mr. CAMPAS. That's correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any national convention of your union during that period of time, between 1936 and 1940?

Mr. CAMPAS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has ascertained from other witnesses in the past that it was the practice where any considerable strength had developed within a union for the Communist Party delegates to convention to caucus in advance of the holding of the conventions for the purpose of endeavoring to plan and to put over the Communist Party line at the particular convention. Did you ever have occasion to attend any fraction meetings of the Communist Party that had any purpose of that kind in mind?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir; I did, 2 or perhaps 3 such fraction meetings, which at that time were known as the National Food Fraction, which was composed of Communist Party members who were either members or officers of various restaurant and hotel unions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were those Communist fraction meetings made up of representatives of all parts of the United States generally?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir, as far as I can recall, although the ones I attended were primarily from the eastern part of the United States.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you attend the first of such fraction meetings?

Mr. CAMPAS. In 1937—something like that—to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. And when did you attend the second?

Mr. CAMPAS. I would say 1938.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you say you attended a third or not?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes: I attended two fraction meetings as such, and one was in connection with my going to New York with Max Gordon to this national convention. The fraction took the occasion of the

national convention, at which there were a number of food workers present, to hold another fraction meeting, which did not have any connection with the national convention of the Communist Party as such, but they just took the occasion being these people were in the city all at one place.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you state the dates and the places of these fraction meetings which you attended?

Mr. CAMPAS. The nearest I can say is 1937 and 1938, and the place New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the general purpose of these fraction meetings?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, their purpose was to coordinate the work of the Communist Party members within the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union. Then, they also planned the program and what action the Communist Party members would take at the national conventions of the union, such as resolutions. In other words, they planned what resolutions they would endorse and what resolutions they would introduce and what resolutions they would fight against.

In addition to that, they also planned the question of which candidate for office in the national convention of the union they would support and which they would oppose.

In other words, that was the coordinating body of the Communist Party within that particular union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who took the leadership in these fraction meetings that you attended?

Mr. CAMPAS. Jay Rubin.

Mr. SCHERER. Were any of the national officers of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union members of the Communist Party at any time during your experience?

Mr. CAMPAS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee, please, the names of all of the members of your union who attended these Communist Party caucuses which you have just described that you can now recall?

Mr. CAMPAS. You mean the national?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; the national.

Mr. CAMPAS. In addition to Jay Rubin, there was Harry Rich—spelled as pronounced.

Mr. TAVENNER. And I would like, in the course of your statement as to the names of these persons, to have you give such identifying information regarding them as you are able to give.

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, Jay Rubin is now an officer of the Hotel and Club Employees' Union, Local 6, New York City.

Harry Rich was an officer of Cooks' Union, Local 89, New York City. He is now out. I have no knowledge of his whereabouts.

Another person is Sam Kramberg.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name, please.

Mr. CAMPAS. K-r-a-m-b-e-r-g.

He was an officer of Cafeteria Workers' Union, Local 302, in New York City. He is now out and I have no knowledge of his whereabouts.

Mike Obermier—O-b-e-r-m-i-e-r. He was an officer of Local 6, Hotel and Club Employees' Union. He has since been deported to Germany, according to the newspapers.

Willie Schulz—S-c-h-u-l-z. He was an officer of Waiters' Union, Local 219, New York City. Since that time he has been out of the union and I don't know where he is.

William Albertson—A-l-b-e-r-t-s-o-n. He was an officer of Waiters' Union, Local 16, New York City. He is out of the union and I have no knowledge of his whereabouts.

David Herman—H-e-r-m-a-n. He is now president of the Hotel and Club Workers, Local 6, New York City.

Nick Lazari—L-a-z-a-r-i. He was from Pittsburgh. He was an officer of the Hotel and Restaurant Union there; since has been out of the union. I have no knowledge of his whereabouts.

With him was Carl Hacker—H-a-c-k-e-r. He was originally from Pittsburgh. At present he is an international organizer for the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union, assigned to the capital district.

Costas Alexiou—A-l-e-x-i-o-u—an officer of the Washington Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union. That is Washington, D. C. From what I understand he has been ousted from the union and I don't know of his whereabouts.

James McNamara—M-c-N-a-m-a-r-a. He was an officer of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union in the Washington, D. C., local 80.

Mr. SCHERER. You say he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Or he was a member?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, he was at the time I am speaking of, between 1937 and 1939—1937, 1938, and 1939.

Mr. SCHERER. Is he with the United States Government at the present time?

Is that the labor conciliator?

Mr. CAMPAS. No, sir; he was the officer of the union.

Mr. SCHERER. I mean presently do you know his present occupation?

Mr. CAMPAS. No; I don't know.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that James P. McNamara?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, I don't know his middle initial.

Mr. SCHERER. Was he at one time president of the national association—

Mr. CAMPAS. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Or national vice president?

Mr. CAMPAS. I think he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. See if you can recall any other identifying fact regarding him.

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, I don't—I haven't anything further. That's the only thing I remember—is the name. He was introduced to me by that name. That's all I remember. If I saw him today, I probably wouldn't recognize him.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, sir.

Are there any others that you can now recall?

Mr. CAMPAS. Ishmael Flory—F-l-o-r-y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us any further identifying information regarding him?

Mr. CAMPAS. He was connected with the dining car employees.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of any others?

Mr. CAMPAS. No, sir.

(At this point Mr. Campas conferred with Mr. Jones.)

Mr. TAVENNER. You have stated in 1938 you were the president of your local union?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee the names of other members of your union who were members of your group in the Communist Party between 1936 and 1940?

Mr. CAMPAS. Jack Davis, who was the business agent.

Mike Yarman—Y-a-r-m-a-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us more identifying information regarding him?

Mr. CAMPAS. He worked as a busboy and dishwasher in the city of Albany, in various restaurants.

And George Stathis.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was he employed?

Mr. CAMPAS. He was working as a waiter; still waiting as a waiter. Sam Edelstein—E-d-e-l-s-t-e-i-n. He was working as a clerk and a kitchen worker.

And Selma Lahne—L-a-h-n-e. She worked as a waitress.

In addition to that, there were 5 others who are deceased.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I will not ask you the names of the deceased parties unless, according to your personal knowledge, they played an important part in the leadership of your group.

Mr. CAMPAS. The only person was the one I mentioned earlier, Cakoulis.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you continue to be a member of the Communist Party group which was organized within your labor union here in Albany?

Mr. CAMPAS. Until the spring of 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. What occurred in the spring of 1940 which had any bearing on your leaving the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, in the spring of 1940 the union elections were held and the candidates that were put up by the Communist Party were defeated.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the result of the defeat of the Communist Party leadership in that election?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, the result of the defeat in the union of the Communist Party's slate, so to speak, resulted in the disintegration and the breaking up of this group of the Communist Party within the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any disciplinary action taken by the Communist Party leadership arising out of that election in the union?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir; there was, because some of the members of the group disagreed on the question of who they were to support during the election and they, of course, were disciplined. I cannot recall the names of them now, but they were disciplined at that time for supporting someone other than the person the Communist Party designated.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of the discipline that was imposed?

Mr. CAMPAS. As far as I can recall, 1 or perhaps 2 persons were expelled from the Communist Party for that action.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, when a person was guilty of being a deviationist—

Mr. CAMPAS. He was disciplined.

Mr. TAVENNER. Even to the point of exercising his right to vote, he would be disciplined by the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. That's correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with any other instances in which the Communist Party resorted to its tactics of disciplining its members for being deviationists?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, in my case. I was expelled from the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was at a later time?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you more in detail about that later.

As a result of what occurred in 1940, you say your group of the Communist Party disintegrated?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you continue your membership in the party at that time?

Mr. CAMPAS. No, sir. I lost interest in it at that time. I moved to Troy, and I went to work as a waiter, and I just drifted away from any activity concerning the Communist Party.

Mr. KEARNEY. The committee will be in recess for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 11:37 a. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 11:47 a. m.)

(The hearing reconvened at 11:52 a. m.)

Mr. KEARNEY. You may proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that you accompanied Mr. Max Gordon, Communist Party organizer of this section, on a trip to New York when he was a delegate to the national convention of the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you fix the year?

Mr. CAMPAS. Thirty-seven or 1938. That's the nearest I can fix it.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred to the fact that a fraction meeting was held at that time, and that you attended it.

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did anyone else, any other person, accompany you or Mr. Gordon to that convention?

Mr. CAMPAS. Not that I recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the caucus meeting that was held at that time, did you recognize any persons from this general area in attendance?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, the person I recognized at this particular work—it became a fraction meeting actually—was this Carl Hacker. He is the one that made the leading report at the fraction. He made some sort of a report, and I remembered him at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the substance of the report?

Mr. CAMPAS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you do know at this fraction meeting which was held just prior to a convention of the Communist Party, that Mr. Hacker made a report?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, at the break in your testimony, when the recess was taken, you told the committee that you left Albany in 1940 and took up employment in Troy, N. Y., as a waiter, and that at that

time you were not connected with the Communist Party or that you had fallen out of the ranks of the Communist Party?

Well, did you later reaffiliate with the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time you went to Troy, were you personally aware of the existence of a Communist Party cell in Troy; that is, when you went there in 1940 from Albany.

Mr. CAMPAS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long was it before you became aware of the existence of the Communist Party unit or group in Troy?

Mr. CAMPAS. 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, just what occurred—or let me ask you this before we come to that: Did you attend any State or national convention for your union between 1940 and 1947?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir; two.

Mr. TAVENNER. Two?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes; one in 1941 and one in 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you take part in any Communist Party activities at either of those conventions?

Mr. CAMPAS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why was that?

Mr. CAMPAS. Because I was not a member of the Communist Party at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you approached at either of those conventions to take part in any Communist Party activities?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes; I was approached at the 1947 convention by a person whom I had previously met in one of the national fraction meetings to attend one of their meetings, and I told him at that time I was not a member and, therefore, I was not interested, and I did not attend.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the name of the individual who approached you?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir; Harry Rich.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the period in 1947 when that convention was held?

Mr. CAMPAS. Sir, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you state that occurred in the 1947 convention or the 1941 convention?

Mr. CAMPAS. Oh, the 1947 convention; in the early part of the year. The convention was held in Milwaukee, Wis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to the holding of that convention, when Harry Rich approached you, had you become identified in any way with the Communist Party group in Troy?

Mr. CAMPAS. No, sir; not that I can recall, because he approached me at the convention. He didn't approach me in Troy.

Mr. TAVENNER. What occurred on your return from that convention to Troy?

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. CAMPAS. I said that upon returning from this convention I was approached by the attorney for the union in Troy. This attorney was the attorney for the union before I become business agent for the union in Troy. So, he approached me on the question of the Commu-

nist Party. He told me that he knew I had been a member before, and he invited me to come to his house and attend meetings of the Communist Party, which I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was this person?

Mr. CAMPAS. His name is I. Nathan Sidman.

Mr. TAVENNER. I. Nathan Sidman?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Spell the last name.

Mr. CAMPAS. S-i-d-m-a-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a result of this conversation that he had with you, did you attend meetings of the Communist Party at his home?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the principal objective of that group of the Communist Party with which you reaffiliated?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, I was affiliated with them a very short while and, as far as I can recall, the primary work or subject matter that they discussed and worked on was the American Labor Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe that more fully, please?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, the membership of the Communist Party in Troy at that time was very small, and also the membership of the American Labor Party, but this Sidman was a vice chairman of the American Labor Party and many issues that were actually Communist Party issues were given out to the press in the name of the American Labor Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you a moment. The committee is not concerned with political activities of any group as such. We do not want to enter into the field of political discussions of any group. However, we are anxious to know to what extent any group is being influenced by the Communist Party, and by its members. So, in testifying regarding this matter, I would like for you to keep that in mind and remember that what we are interested in are the activities and the work of the Communists within any group, including this particular group that we are talking about.

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, the only thing more I can add to that is that the Communists within this group actually ran the group.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was that accomplished?

Mr. KEARNEY. Within what group?

Mr. CAMPAS. The American Labor Party.

That was accomplished because of one particular person I've named. He was the speaker for the American Labor Party by virtue of the fact he was vice chairman of the Rensselaer County committee of the party, American Labor Party, and he was a Communist. Therefore, all information, statements that went out, he issued.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did the other members of the Communist Party take any active part as Communists in planning the work of the American Labor Party in that area?

Mr. CAMPAS. Only in the form of discussions and planning what was to be done on the occasional meetings that the American Labor Party held, which were not too frequent; but whenever there was a meeting of the American Labor Party the Communists, of course, planned that, just like they plan anything else in any other organization. They meet beforehand; they plan what they are going to do, and they go in there and try to put it over.

Also, in the question of primaries, they tried and they were successful in getting Communists to be elected as members of the county committee or any other offices of the American Labor Party that they could.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee who composed this group of the Communist Party in Troy, of which you were a member?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, in addition to the person I have named, there was Frieda Schwenkmyer—S-c-h-w-e-n-k-m-y-e-r.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. Will you give any further identifying information you can regarding her and her activities?

Mr. CAMPAS. She was an organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union. Later she was removed from that position by the union. As to her present whereabouts, I have no knowledge.

Another person was George LaFortune.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give further identifying information regarding him?

Mr. CAMPAS. I have no other information, except that he lived in Troy, or nearby, and I don't recall what type of work he did at that time, and I haven't seen him since 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there others?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes; there was Donald Hatchigan. The only thing I remember about him—I understood he was working for some cleaning and dying plant. That was his trade. Whether he was working at that trade at that time, I can't recollect.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of any other persons?

Mr. CAMPAS. There's two other persons—one named Harold Klein—K-l-e-i-n.

At that time, when I met him, he was the Communist Party organizer for the capital district and he came over from Schenectady at times when this group met in Troy.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you know where Mr. Klein is now?

Mr. CAMPAS. No; I have no knowledge of his whereabouts. I haven't seen him since 1948. I shall bring out at a later hour how I met him then.

One other person—Si Fialkoff. I don't know the exact spelling of the name, but the nearest I can make out is F-i-a-l-k-o-f-f. He was also an organizer of some kind in the Communist Party who was usually with Klein.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the plan of this group of the Communist Party include the encouragement of any of its members to take an active part in the American Labor Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes; they were interested for us to take part, which they did. They were all registered in the American Labor Party and they participated in the meetings of the American Labor Party whenever they were held, and they also participated in the primaries because, as I stated previously, this American Labor Party had a small membership and, with a small group voting in the primaries, they were able to capture control of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were members of this group encouraged to seek political office through the medium of the American Labor Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir. If I recall correctly, Sidman and several others did run for office, some office, under the label of the American Labor Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. But the point I am asking is whether or not this group of the Communist Party sought this activity by its members?

Mr. CAMPAS. Oh, the only answer I can say is "Yes, sir," without—I can't go into too many details because, as I said, I was there only for a short while at that time and I don't know what they have done since then.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become active in the American Labor Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. Only in a limited way. I mean I attended some of their meetings and I was on some committee or other of the American Labor Party, but after that I dropped out.

Mr. TAVENNER. While a member of this Communist Party group, were you a candidate for political office?

Mr. CAMPAS. Not that I can recall. If it was, I might have been in the fall elections of 1937, and I can't recall at this moment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe to the committee any further activities that you are acquainted with of this Communist Party group in furthering its interests which you have described existed in the American Labor Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. No; the only activity that I can recollect is the American Labor Party activity.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell us any other way in which the Communist Party group worked in order to increase their position and their standing in the American Labor Party?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, they tried to influence as many people as they could within the American Labor Party, such as enrollees to vote for their candidates; but any other activity, I have no knowledge. I can't recollect at the moment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the Communist Party itself take any part in the arrangement of meetings and the bringing in of speakers under the auspices of the American Labor Party, for instance?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, as far as I know, there was only one such meeting, which was held some time in the first half of 1948, which was supposed to be a meeting of the American Labor Party at which Rockwell Kent, the artist, came to speak in behalf of the candidacy of Wallace for President.

That's about the only meeting, open meeting, that I can remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I just wanted to know whether or not the Communist Party as such played any part in the arrangements for the meeting or brought it about in any way.

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, I would say they did greatly contribute toward bringing the meeting about, and having this meeting, if not officially as a Communist Party group, but the individuals who were Communists did the work.

The group in Troy, the Communist Party group, was never known as such. No one identified himself as a Communist in Troy at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain a member of the Communist Party in Troy?

Mr. CAMPAS. As far as I can remember, approximately 10 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why was it that your membership was limited to such a short period of time?

Mr. CAMPAS. Because I was expelled for failing to follow the dictates and the wishes of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee about that, please?

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, this meeting I spoke of previously—the Wallace-for-President meeting, at which Rockwell Kent was the speaker, was advertised in the newspapers and placing my name as one of the sponsors of the meeting. I did not give those people the right to put my name in the paper.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who do you mean by “those people”?

Mr. CAMPAS. The Communists, because they were the ones who gave the names, as I later found out from speaking to the reporter that wrote the story, and he informed me he had gotten the story from Mr. Sidman.

But that particular incident was only an occasion in my mind which I chose to break with the Communist Party, because I no longer believed in it and had no sympathy with them whatsoever, and I chose that particular time to do so; and by stating publicly I was not a supporter of this meeting—this was an American Labor Party meeting I am speaking of now—I stated I was not a supporter of this meeting, and I was expelled by the Communist Party.

But, as I said, that particular incident was only the occasion to do so. (At this point Mr. Campas conferred with Mr. Jones.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Before proceeding, I would like you to explain a little more clearly just what it was that brought about your expulsion.

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, I had not attended meetings for some time prior to that incident—that is, meetings of the Communist Party—and I had some differences of opinion with the organizer of the Communist Party, Klein, and this other person, Fialkoff. I realized at that time the program and the doctrine and the theory in the Communist Party was not for the best interests of what I thought was right and good for labor and, being a union officer first, I realized that what they advocated was not for the best interests of labor and they were not the answer to what labor should have or what labor should get. They were only using labor to advance their own interests, their political interests, and at all times they were being apologists for the Soviet Union, of which I have no interest in; and I also found, contrary to what was preached by the Communist Party before that only Communists were the most active people in the union and they were the only ones that would do the work. I found that to be the contrary; I found people who were sincere; they were honest about their work; they were interested only in the advancement of unionism without any political implications whatsoever, and a union that was not controlled by any political group was a good union.

Now, my original reason for affiliating again with the Communist Party in 1947 was because primarily I was interested in the American Labor Party as a lobby for trade-union principles, such as minimum wages, better laws, and things like that; but then I found out that it was nothing else but a front—at least the group in Troy was nothing but a front—for the Communist Party, and at that time I discussed it with Klein and Fialkoff. I told them what I thought, and I told them I did not want any part of it, and some time later I received a typewritten piece of paper in an envelope, which was left at my office by some person unknown, advising me that, inasmuch as I had not followed the party line, trial was held and I was expelled.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you permitted to attend your own trial?

Mr. CAMPAS. I was invited to, but I didn't attend it.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Since that time, have you taken part in any Communist activities of any character?

Mr. CAMPAS. No, sir; on the contrary, I've had occasion to offer my cooperation to other Federal agencies in trying to eliminate and eradicate the Communist Party and communism.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you expressed the desire to appear voluntarily before this committee to answer such questions as it proposed to ask you?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Therefore, you are telling this committee the breaking of your Communist Party ties are final and complete?

Mr. CAMPAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the investigation by the committee shows that the correct spelling of a name just given by the witness is F-i-a-l-k-o-f-f.

I thought I should make that correction.

Mr. CAMPAS. Well, I never saw his name in writing. That is why I didn't remember it.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman

Mr. KEARNEY. I want to express to the witness the thanks of the committee for coming here and testifying as he has this morning. He has certainly set an example to all who have been formerly connected with the Communist Party in exposing the ramifications of the party.

You deserve the thanks of the committee and of the American people.

Mr. CAMPAS. Thank you, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. The committee will recess until 1:30.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 1:30 p. m., of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(At the hour of 1:38 p. m., of the same day, the hearing reconvened, the following committee members being present: Representatives Bernard W. Kearney (chairman of the subcommittee) and Gordon H. Scherer.)

Mr. KEARNEY. The committee will be in order.

Do you have a witness, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. Jack Davis.

Will you come forward, please?

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Davis, will you stand and hold up your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DAVIS. I do.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Chairman, I understand my client has the right to request that his testimony be not broadcast, and we so request that.

Mr. KEARNEY. On the request of counsel and the witness, the testimony will not be broadcast.

Mr. JONES. Thank you.

TESTIMONY OF JACK DAVIS, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
ABBOTT H. JONES, JR.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. DAVIS. Jack Davis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. JONES. Mr. Abbott H. Jones, Jr., 5 Broadway, Troy, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Davis?

Mr. DAVIS. I was born in Hartford, Conn., November 26, 1907.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation?

Mr. DAVIS. I am business agent for the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union, Local 471, Albany.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you reside?

Mr. DAVIS. 92 Hudson Avenue, Albany.

Mr. KEARNEY. I am going to ask the photographers to take their pictures now so that the witness will not be disturbed during his testimony.

Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your formal educational training has been?

Mr. DAVIS. I was educated in the public schools of Hartford, Conn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your record of employment has been since, say, 1935?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, from 1935 to early 1936 I was employed as a waiter in hotels and restaurants around the city of Albany.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what was your next employment?

Mr. DAVIS. In 1936, in March 1936, I was elected business agent for the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union, Local 471.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you business agent of that local?

Mr. DAVIS. I was business agent of that local union until about May 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, let me interrogate you first regarding certain incidents up to that date, May 1940.

When you were a waiter, working in Albany, between 1935 and 1936, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand from your testimony that you became business agent for your local in March 1936.

Mr. DAVIS. That's right, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. DAVIS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you later become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Approximately when did you become a member?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, as I recall, it was in the early summer of 1936.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you more in detail later as to the circumstances under which you left the Communist Party, but for the present tell us approximately the time when you broke with the Communist Party.

Mr. DAVIS. Well, as far as I can recall, it was about 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the circumstances under which you became a member of the Communist Party in 1936?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, at the time, in 1936, when I became business agent of the union, I didn't have any experience in the particular job and I needed a lot of help and a fellow came along who, after I became business agent, joined the union and started to help out, did a lot of leg work, and made good suggestions, and generally became very active in the union; and after a while this fellow identified himself—well, this man is deceased; I don't know whether—

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I think in light of his activity and his prominence at that time we should ask you to give his name.

And, incidentally, if in the course of your testimony I ask you for other names and if they are of persons deceased, I would rather for you not to mention them unless they had some very important part to play in the leadership of the party.

Now, will you state, please, the circumstances under which you became a member of the Communist Party in 1936?

Mr. DAVIS. The man's name is Gus Cakoulis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name?

Mr. DAVIS. C-a-k-o-u-l-i-s.

This man became very active in the union, did a lot of work and made suggestions, and in a short time he identified himself as a Communist to me, as a member of the Communist Party, and I didn't know much about it, only what I read in the newspapers; and he began to discuss the question of the Communist Party and communism with me at great length, and in a short time he asked me to join the party, and later he made a luncheon appointment for me with a woman, who I understood was from Schenectady, by the name of Sadie Doran.

And we had lunch together and she was introduced to me as the Communist Party organizer for the capital district area, and we had quite a talk at lunch and we spent most of the afternoon discussing the question of my joining the Communist Party; and I asked a lot of questions, and both of these people explained to me the benefits and the advantages that I would have in joining the party, particularly as how I had very little experience in the trade-union movement and that there were many people in the party, in the Communist Party, who worked with the Communist Party, who had all this experience and that they were in a position to advise and to assist me in my work.

So, as a result of that, I joined the Communist Party at the time; but I want to say I don't recall signing any card or receiving any card—or I believe at the time I passed a 50-cent piece over. That was the initiation fee, and that's about the story as far as the—

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, do you recall whether a name was given to be recorded as your party name?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes; after the question was settled about my joining the party, this Doran woman brought the question up about joining

the party under an assumed name, and she thought it would be best if I did that, and she suggested that I pick a name, just any place, and as I recall it I smoked a certain brand of cigarettes at the time, and I just picked the name off the pack of cigarettes and the name happened to be Williamson, and the name was put down as Jack Williamson.

Mr. TAVENNER. What reason was given by the organizer as to why it would be better or preferable for you to be known in the party under a name different from your own?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, up until the time that she mentioned the question of an assumed name, it hadn't entered my mind that it was necessary to do that; but she said in holding a key position or an important position in the union that it would be better if I was not identified with the Communist Party. So, I went along with that.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Then that was done as a matter of security?

Mr. DAVIS. That's right. That's correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether this was the same group of the Communist Party which the witness previous to you, Mr. Campas, described as having been organized within the membership of your local?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, not at the particular time I'm talking about now, sir. This happened later. At the time I joined the Communist Party there was no group within the union.

I evidently—it seems I was the first recruit——

Mr. TAVENNER. Then, if I understand it, it was the purpose of this group to get into your union?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, that is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, would you tell the committee briefly how that was accomplished?

Mr. DAVIS. The understanding was that I was not to take any active or open position as far as being a Communist or being active in the Communist Party, but that this man Cakoulis was to do all the work, the recruiting and anything else that was necessary in that line.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to your group endeavoring to take over your union, will you tell me to what group of the Communist Party you were assigned? In other words, where were you assigned when you first became a member?

Mr. DAVIS. At first I was assigned to a group in Schenectady which was sort of a miscellaneous group. It was made up of various types of people who worked in shops, various lines of work, and the only two people at the time were myself and Gus Cakoulis who were members, that is, of this particular union.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain affiliated with that group?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, that was—I would say—as I recall it, about a little over a year or so that I was affiliated with the Schnectady group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was your attendance at meetings regular during that period?

Mr. DAVIS. No; I only attended a very few meetings because I was very busy at my regular job, and meetings were held at times I wasn't able to attend, but I did attend several meetings during that period in Schenectady.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you explain how the organization within the Communist Party was first established here in Albany?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, it came about as a result of the new organizer being assigned to the capital district area. A man by the name of Max Gordon was sent in from New York as the new organizer for the Communist Party and he then set the apparatus up here at Albany instead of Schenectady as it had been previously; and by that time within the union itself there were several people who had been recruited into the Communist Party, so that at that time what was called a food workers' branch of the Communist Party was set up within the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that branch the food workers' branch of your union, that is the Communist Party branch of your union, successful in gaining leadership in your union and control of it?

Mr. DAVIS. I would say it definitely was successful. It was very successful in doing that.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period of time that you were a member of this group in Albany—that is, between 1936 and 1940—did you have occasion to attend what were called section meetings of the party?

Mr. DAVIS. As far as I can recall, I attended one section meeting of the party during the period of 3 or 4 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear the testimony this morning of Mr. Nick Campas?

Mr. DAVIS. I heard it.

Mr. TAVENNER. He described having attended a section meeting in Albany. Did you attend the same meeting?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you tell us what you can recall about the purposes of that meeting?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, it was also called the section convention. It was held prior to the time that a national convention was scheduled to be held and, as I understood it, the section convention was held and delegates were to be elected at that convention to a district convention, which was made up of the State, and then delegates from there were to be elected to the national convention.

The purpose of the section convention was to elect these delegates and to get reports of the various activities of the party from the various branches that were connected with the section.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you, prior to that time, know of the existence of other branches in the Communist Party in this area besides the one of which you were a member?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, I had heard on a number of occasions there were several branches of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you attended the meetings of any of them?

Mr. DAVIS. No; I hadn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. What terms were used to describe these other branches?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, there was a professional branch; there was a State employees' branch; there was a neighborhood branch—I can't remember the name of the neighborhood, and there were others, but I can't recall them.

Mr. TAVENNER. And, of course, your own branch——

Mr. DAVIS. That's right; the food workers' branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. At this section meeting, did you find there were present persons representing these various branches?

Mr. DAVIS. I did, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee, please, the names of all the persons you can recall who were present at this section meeting?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, I would like to explain at this section convention delegates were actually elected or sent from the various branches. In addition to the delegates who were sent and who came to the section convention, there were also spectators; but all the spectators, of course, were members of the Communist Party or they wouldn't be allowed to come into the convention, and there were delegates from the various branches and various——

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a delegate from your group?

Mr. DAVIS. As far as I can remember; no. I was present, but I'm pretty sure I was a spectator.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall who the delegates from your group were?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, I can recall that Gus Cakoulis was a delegate and that each branch had someone to report on its activities, and I can recall in the case of the food workers branch that Gus Cakoulis made the report.

I can also recall that there was one person, a woman, who made the main report of the convention; and, of course, the party organizer, Max Gordon, reported for the professional branch because, as it was explained, for security reasons, the professional branch was not able or should not be allowed to expose themselves, so that the party organizer made the report for the professional branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. That brings to mind the testimony of Harold Ashe in our hearings in California, when he described that the purpose of having professional cells or groups of the Communist Party was to keep the membership of those groups highly secret, even secret from other rank-and-file members of the Communist Party.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer left the hearing room at this point.)

In keeping with that idea, I understand that Max Gordon on this occasion even made the report for the professional group rather than expose the members of the professional group as such.

Mr. DAVIS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time ascertain the identity—that is, of your own personal knowledge—of the membership of the professional group?

Mr. DAVIS. No, sir; except that it had been discussed among the party members that the group was——

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, just a moment. I don't want you to state what somebody else told you about it.

Mr. DAVIS. I see.

As far as my own knowledge is concerned, I never knew or never met any member of the professional branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed, please, with a description of what occurred at this section conference?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, the main report was made by a woman, whose name I knew as Amalia Pesko, and then there were reports from the

party organizer and reports from the food branch; and I can't recall any of the other reports, but there were a number of other branches which reported.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you identify for the committee persons who were in attendance at that meeting?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I wish you would do so, please.

Mr. DAVIS. James King.

Mr. TAVENNER. In identifying these individuals, I wish you would tell the committee other facts which would help in the identification of the individuals.

Mr. DAVIS. Well, I knew James King at the time to be a State employee and connected with the State, County, and Municipal Workers Union, which was the union that was trying to organize the State employees.

George LaFortune. He was working in some plant in the area. I can't recall exactly where, but it was somewhere in Troy or Water-vliet.

Frieda Schwenkmyer. She was an organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union.

John Wright, who I knew as a State employee at that time.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you know in what department John Wright was employed by the State of New York?

Mr. DAVIS. No; I can't recall that I knew that. I knew he was a State employee. I never inquired as to what the department was.

David Rappaport, who I knew as a State employee.

Herbert Feay—F-e-a-y—who I understood at the time was connected with some part of the insurance setup in the State.

Max Gordon, who was the party organizer.

Clarence Carr, who was an officer of the Leather Workers' Union in Gloversville.

Nick Campas.

Rena Dodd, who I understood was an employee of the State.

Betty Laros, who I understood was an employee of the State.

Donald Hatchigan, who, as far as I can recall, ran a dry-cleaning business in Troy.

Charles Dorenz, who was employed as a painter here in the city of Albany.

(Representative Gorden H. Scherer returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall who were elected at that convention to be delegates at the State convention of the Communist Party?

Dr. DAVIS. The only one that I can recall who was elected at the time was Max Gordon, the party organizer. I'm sure there were others, but I don't recall their names.

Mr. TAVENNER. Approximately what was the date of this meeting?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, it's hard to place it exactly, but I would say, as far as I can recall, it was sometime in 1938.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you regular in attendance at the Communist Party meetings held by your own group or club?

Mr. DAVIS. No; I wasn't. I only attended them occasionally.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why was that?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, first, for what was called security reasons, on many occasions some of the members brought people there for the first time

and my own feeling was it would be best if I didn't attend all the meetings—only meetings where it was understood I was coming to—and, further, in many cases, I was not able to come to meetings. They were generally held in the afternoon because that was the time the people who work in this particular line of work were free to come to a meeting and that didn't always fit into my schedule.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever chosen to attend a State or national convention of your union?

Mr. DAVIS. I was a delegate to three national conventions of my union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were those conventions held and what were the dates?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, the first convention was the national convention held in Rochester, N. Y., in 1936, and I attended the next national convention which was in San Francisco, in 1938, and the convention, the national convention, that was held in Cincinnati in 1941.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what the practice was at those conventions within the Communist Party groups that were members or delegates to the conventions?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, I would like to just go back a little bit. At the time I joined the Communist Party one of the things that was impressed upon me was that there was a national group of people, members of the Communist Party, who were in the same line of work and in the same field, union field, and that these people had meetings. They were all oldtimers, as it was put, and well experienced—and they occasionally had meetings called national fraction meetings, and that was one of the things that I would get a lot of help from there. So, I did attend some of these national fraction meetings, and during the 1936 convention particularly, in Rochester, and prior to the San Francisco convention, these meetings were held and I attended some of those meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, these fraction meetings were meetings of members of your union who were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. That's on the national level.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that meant from widespread areas of the United States, did it not?

Mr. DAVIS. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the general purpose of these fraction meetings and caucus meetings?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, it was a sort of steering committee to try to steer the convention, and the meetings were taken up first with reports from the various members, reports from what the situation was in their own particular areas, local areas, and after that, of course, the meetings went into the question of resolutions to be presented and pushed at the convention, the type of resolutions that were to be opposed, particularly resolutions which would set up a bar to Communist Party membership in the union, or Communists holding office, or any resolutions of that kind. Those were to be opposed, and generally resolutions that dealt with international affairs or trade-union affairs, and also the meetings took up the question of the election of officers at these conventions and who the Communists should support and who they should oppose, and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was particularly applicable to the caucuses at your conventions?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. In your fraction meetings which were held did you, as members of the fraction, obtain suggestions and directions from the Communist Party leadership as to the Communist Party line which was to be sponsored and taken back to your respective groups?

Mr. DAVIS. To the locals?

Mr. TAVENNER. Local groups.

Mr. DAVIS. Oh, yes, sir; sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, these fraction meetings constituted one source of Communist Party direction, of the business of the Communist Party in the local unions?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the names of all the persons that you can recall with whom you met in these fraction meetings—and I think, however, you should tell us where these fraction meetings met and the dates as nearly as you can?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, actually, sir, I can't remember the dates. It was during the period of 1936 to 1940, and most of these meetings were held in New York, and, of course, in Rochester. During the time of the convention it was held in Rochester, and I can recall going to one meeting in Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you able to differentiate between these meetings as to which persons you met at one meeting and which at another?

Mr. DAVIS. No, sir; that I'm sure would be impossible.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, will you proceed to state to the committee the names of those persons whom you are certain you met and with whom you sat in these fraction meetings?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Harry Rich.

Mr. TAVENNER. And will you tell us as nearly as you can your recollection of the individual so as to be able to more definitely identify him.

Mr. DAVIS. At the time he was an officer in the cooks' union in New York City.

Mike Obermier. During this period he was an officer in several different locals in New York City.

William Albertson. He was an officer in the waiters' union, local 16, in New York City.

Ishmael Flory. He was a leader in the dining-car division of the national union.

Jay Rubin. He was an officer in the hotel and club employees' union in New York City, and I understand that Mr. Rubin has disassociated himself from the Communist Party since that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what position he holds in the union at this time?

Mr. DAVIS. He still holds the same position in the same union.

And Gertrude Lane, who also held a position during that period in the same union, local 6, and who I understand today has disassociated herself from the Communist Party.

The same is true of David Herman, who today holds a position of leadership in that union, local 6 of the hotel and restaurant employees; and I understand, sir, that he has disassociated himself from the Communist Party.

And a man by the name of Costas Alexiou, whom I can't place for sure. He was a leader in one of the local unions around the country.

Carl Hacker, who today is an international organizer for the National Union of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees.

Willie Schulz. He was an officer of a local union in what was called Yorkville, New York City.

Paul O'Connor, who was an officer in what was called the Miscellaneous Workers' Union in Boston. That's in the same industry.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have occasion to meet him at any later period?

Mr. DAVIS. Later I met Mr. O'Connor as a UE organizer in New England.

James McNamara, who in 1938 became an international vice president of the union, at the 1938 convention in San Francisco. He was elected an international vice president.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of what union?

Mr. DAVIS. Of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' National Union.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know what James McNamara is doing now?

Mr. DAVIS. No, sir; I can't recall ever seeing him since 1941.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you give us a middle initial on that name?

Mr. DAVIS. I'm pretty sure it's B. James B. McNamara.

Mr. SCHERER. He was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. I met with him, sir, on at least two occasions. I met with him in the national fraction of the Communist Party, in the union.

Mr. SCHERER. Nobody was present except members of the Communist Party at the fraction meetings which you describe?

Mr. DAVIS. That's right, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. How old a man was he at the time?

Mr. DAVIS. He was a very young man at the time—very young man; very young fellow.

Mr. SCHERER. In 1938, did you say that was?

Mr. DAVIS. Thirty-eight.

Mr. SCHERER. You don't know whether he is a member of the Communist Party today?

Mr. DAVIS. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. You don't know how long he remained in the Communist Party after you knew him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. No, sir.

(Representative Bernard W. Kearney left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. SCHERER. That is all I have, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were these fraction meetings held at which you identified him as a member?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, you mean the actual place?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Can you be certain of that?

Mr. DAVIS. Sometimes they were in a hotel room.

Mr. TAVENNER. No; I meant in what city.

Mr. DAVIS. Well, I'm pretty sure I can place him at one meeting in New York City.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know what city he was from?

Mr. DAVIS. Washington, D. C. He was an officer in the local union in that city, in Washington, D. C. He held a position of leadership in that local union.

Mr. SCHERER. When was the last time you heard of Mr. McNamara?

Mr. DAVIS. The last time I saw Mr. McNamara was in 1941 at the Cincinnati convention when he lost out as an international vice president.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I want to check as to the location of these various conventions. You stated one convention was Rochester. That was the one in 1936, and you said there was one in San Francisco in 1938. And did you say there was one in Cincinnati in 1941?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it at the San Francisco convention or at the Cincinnati convention that Mr. McNamara lost out?

Mr. DAVIS. In 1941 at the Cincinnati convention.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, sir; will you proceed?

Mr. DAVIS. Manning Johnson.

Salvatore Gentili.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us identifying information regarding him?

Mr. DAVIS. Salvatore Gentili. I'm pretty sure he was an officer in one of the writer's unions in New York City.

Helen Caren. She was from Toronto, Canada, and was an officer or leader in the local union in that city, Toronto, Canada.

And Charles Oberkirch, who was an officer in a local union in Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you able to identify any other persons who attended these caucus meetings?

Mr. DAVIS. I believe I left Nick Campas out. He was there at one of the meetings at least that I attended, but I can't recall any others.

Mr. TAVENNER. Our investigation has disclosed that at one time while you were a member of the party, between 1936 and 1940, that some charge was preferred against you and you were arrested. Did that have anything to do with Communist Party activities on your part?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, it did in this way, sir: It was in 1937 we had annual elections in our union, and in April 1937, to be exact, we had our annual election, and I was running for reelection as business agent.

(Representative Bernard W. Kearney returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. DAVIS. On the afternoon before the day of the election I was arrested and charged with assault, and the next morning the charge was changed to attempted robbery, and I was refused bail and I remained in jail all of the day, all the afternoon of the election and election night, and the next morning I got out of jail on a writ of habeas corpus; but during the time I was in jail the election went on and I was reelected as business agent; later on I was cleared and vindicated of all the charges that were made against me by the courts and—however, in the meantime, when this event took place, the Communist Party took advantage of the situation.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the origin of this charge? What was the alleged basis for it?

(Representative Bernard W. Kearney left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. DAVIS. It started from—in my opinion, it was instigated by some employees who were unhappy.

(Representative Bernard W. Kearney returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not asking you as to your opinion who did it, but what were the facts around which this charge was made?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, there was a man who was a minor officer of the union who came to the office of the union to obtain a list of members, and it was my duty as the financial secretary to protect that list of members and I refused to allow him to have the list, and he grabbed the list and started to run with it. So, I stopped him and took the list away, and then, about an hour later, I was arrested for assault; and later the court said that in protecting the list of the union I was doing my duty, and the charges were thrown out.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say the Communist Party made a great deal to do over the incident. What do you mean by that?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, at the time I was put in jail and the next day when I got out, the newspapers, the Communist Party, not directly but indirectly, through connections that they had in other unions, in the area, and other types of organizations, began to issue statements, write letters, public letters, to the Governor and the city officials, and send telegrams to Washington, and everything else of that type, in order to create a big furor over the situation. Of course, it was a very serious situation to me, personally, and it made me feel that some people were trying to help me.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, that incident was exploited by the Communists?

Mr. DAVIS. To the *n*th degree; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over how wide an area?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, there were letters and telegrams that came from Gloversville and Amsterdam and Schenectady. Most of them came from those places.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the incident result in any strengthening of the Communist Party in this area?

Mr. DAVIS. I would say definitely it strengthened the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you continue as a member of this group of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. Until 1940, when I ran for reelection in 1940. I was defeated as a candidate for business agent.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the Communist Party slate was defeated in the election at that time?

Mr. DAVIS. That's right, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what effect did that have upon this organized group of Communists within your union?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, this group disintegrated. It fell apart and all the members drifted away, as far as I knew, and I, myself, drifted away for some time after that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you go from Albany?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, I remained in Albany until 1942, except for a short time previous to that while I lived in Albany, in late 1941, I went to work for the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America, which was a CIO union at the time, as a national organizer, national field organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you continue as an organizer for UE?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, I worked for UE, as I said, for a period of about 3 months in 1941, and left and I came back permanently about June 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how long did you remain?

Mr. DAVIS. I remained as an organizer for the UE until about May 1950.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the staff prefers not to develop testimony through this witness in public session regarding his activities within the UE as an organizer over the period he indicated at this time. We would like to take that testimony in closed session, with a view to making it public or making it part of a hearing in some future date.

Mr. KEARNEY. The request is granted.

Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, for the reasons I mentioned, I am not going to ask you questions regarding your experience in the Communist Party while you were within UE, other than to ask you whether you did again affiliate with the Communist Party while you were an organizer for UE.

Mr. DAVIS. In 1942 I went to the city of Syracuse, N. Y., to work as an organizer, national field organizer, for the UE, and some time after that I reaffiliated with the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you tell the committee, please, the circumstances under which you left the Communist Party?

And I realize in asking you to answer that question you may have to make some reference to the UE, but I do not want to go into details about your experience as an organizer for UE.

Mr. DAVIS. Well, I began to drift away from the party in 1947, and mainly at that time—at the time I was working in New England, particularly around the western Massachusetts area, Springfield, Holyoke, and so on—and there was some serious unemployment began to develop in that area, and I attended the meeting of the Communist Party and the question was brought up, and some of the party leaders were all excited about it, in the sense that it seemed to me very welcomed what they said was a depression. We were going to have a depression and it seemed to me at the time they welcomed it. They went into the term of mass recruiting. They said, "This is our opportunity. This may be an opportunity to recruit hundreds—yes; thousands—of people into the party" because of the unemployment that was developing in New England, and it seems to them that they were going to have a depression and it was fine because this was a real opportunity for the party to begin to do this mass recruiting.

Well, that was when I really began to get concerned about the question of communism because I went through the first depression and I was a young man: I wasn't able to find work; I had a hard time, and I knew what a depression was, and anybody who started to welcome another depression—well, I couldn't see that.

Later, when a number of other things developed, the beginning of the cold war, and particularly during the war, I saw a different picture. I was working. I felt I was doing a real job for the war effort in my work with plants that were making materials for the war, and it was my job to settle the hundreds of grievances that came up in order

to prevent strikes taking place during this time; and I believed sincerely that after the war we were really going to have a good situation in the world, that there was going to be peace, and we were going to get along with everybody and everybody was going to get along with us. I really believed that, but I began to see that wasn't true and that while these people, the Communist Party, talked about that during the war, that after the war it was an entirely different picture; and I began to see the expansionism of Russia, the way they were reaching out and trying to gobble up and where they did gobble up other countries, and the big war machine they were building, so that I became gravely concerned with that particular phase of it.

Then, the straw that broke the camel's back was when the UE leadership began to attack the CIO, and when the Communist Party began to develop a program to actually pull the UE out of the CIO, along with 10 or 11 other unions; and I really got worried about that, and I could see that was what was going to happen. The party started that and, while there was a not of opposition, even among some of the party people, they were all whipped in line and, finally, the unions, these unions, were thrown out of the CIO. I felt that I had put a good share of my life, about 8 or 9 years, in that particular thing, in building that union, and building the CIO, and I felt it was all going down the drain. I then realized that the party was not interested in building the union to help the working people—and on a bread-and-butter basis is what I've always been interested in—how much bread and butter, and how much more bread and butter can we get for the people who belong to the union, for the working people. I began to realize they were not interested in that, but only using the unions to further their own political ends, and that whenever those political ends didn't fit with the union that they were ready to dump the union. Well, later events show that is what happened, as far as that union is concerned.

Now, I always understood—and I believe it is true—that you just don't resign from the Communist Party. You just don't one day wake up and write a letter and say, "I resign from the party." That's a joke. People would laugh at you. So, you've just got to get away from it, and it isn't easy after you are in the party for a long time. It becomes a habit. You just don't break the habit so easily. You have to do a lot of thinking about it. You have to live with yourself for a while. You have to think about it a lot. And, finally, you come to your conclusion and you just walk away from it.

That's the way I did it. You just walk away from it. You don't want to talk about it any more; and, so, you just talk to yourself about it and, finally—well, an opportunity like this comes along, and—well, I made up my mind, and here I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. You came voluntarily to the committee?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And expressed a willingness to testify regarding any question they might ask you?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, after you severed your connection with the Communist Party, did you then obtain an office in your union?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir. On June 2, I was elected business agent of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' union.

Mr. TAVENNER. June 2 of what year?

Mr. DAVIS. 1953.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you hold that position now?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I think that concludes all I desire to ask the witness.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Davis, the committee, through the Chair, wants to thank you for your voluntary appearance before this committee. We hope that by your example you have set an example for others to do the same thing.

With the thanks of the committee, you are excused.

Mr. DAVIS. Thank you, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. The committee will be in recess for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 2:37 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 2:47 p. m.)

(The hearing reconvened at 2:55 p. m.)

Mr. KEARNEY. The committee will be in order.

Call your next witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I think I should announce to the committee at this point who will next be called. I have taken them out of the order in which the staff had planned to present them. They were not expected, according to our plans, to appear until tomorrow or Thursday, but we learned of the fact they had employed the same counsel and that counsel, because of previous engagements, could not appear at any date later than today. Subpenas originally read for the appearance on yesterday and today. So, in light of this situation, we are calling the next three witnesses out of order.

Mr. Morris Zuckman, will you come forward, please?

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Zuckman, do you swear that the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ZUCKMAN. I do.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you object to having your testimony broadcast?

Mr. ZUCKMAN. I'll abide by the committee's decision, Your Honor.

Mr. KEARNEY. Now, the committee's rule is, Mr. Zuckman, if a witness objects, the chairman will order the broadcast stopped.

Mr. ZUCKMAN. Well, then, I will object to it.

Mr. KEARNEY. All right.

Mr. ZUCKMAN. Mr. Chairman, I wonder, in view of the fact that I sat here yesterday, some time yesterday, and today, and I found that this committee has given very courteous treatment to the witnesses who have preceded me—

Mr. KEARNEY. I will say, as chairman, the present witness will receive the same courteous treatment.

Mr. ZUCKMAN. Thank you.

Now, in view of that fact, I have a statement that I would like to submit to the committee and read into the record.

Mr. KEARNEY. You can submit the statement, and we will look it over, and then if we think it is—

Mr. ZUCKMAN. This statement will clearly state my position as to how I stand in connection with this so-called inquisition.

Mr. KEARNEY. So-called what?

Mr. ZUCKMAN. Inquisition.

Mr. KEARNEY. I thought I understood you.

Mr. SCHERER. I thought we were starting off with a note of courtesy.

TESTIMONY OF MORRIS ZUCKMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS
COUNSEL, ROYAL W. FRANCE

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please, sir?

Mr. ZUCKMAN. My name is Morris Zuckman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. ZUCKMAN. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please state his name for the record?

Mr. FRANCE. Royal W. France—F-r-a-n-c-e—104 East 40th Street, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Zuckman?

Mr. ZUCKMAN. I was born in the city of Albany, N. Y., on January 6, 1908.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. ZUCKMAN. In the city of Albany, N. Y., at 62 Morris Street, Albany, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation?

Mr. ZUCKMAN. My occupation is that of an attorney and counselor at law.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what has been your formal educational training.

Mr. ZUCKMAN. I graduated from the public schools in Albany, the high school of Albany; then I went to St. John's College, had 1 year of prelaw; then to St. John's University Law School, and graduated from St. John's University Law School, summa cum laude.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date of the completion of your legal training?

Mr. ZUCKMAN. I completed my legal training in June of 1931, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you practiced law in the city of Albany?

Mr. ZUCKMAN. I have been practicing law here from, I believe it was, December of 1933.

Mr. TAVENNER. Between the time of your graduation in 1931 and 1933, how were you employed?

Mr. ZUCKMAN. I served my clerkship with Caplain Aras, Esq., of the city of Albany, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Zuckman, the investigation by the committee discloses that you were chairman of the American Labor Party in Albany for a period of time, beginning in 1946; is that correct?

Mr. ZUCKMAN. Well, my position, Mr. Tavenner, is such that I don't think that this committee has any right to go into my political associations whatever.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, let me put it this way to you. That might be conditioned upon 1 or 2 facts. Having received the information that you were actively engaged in that organization, we would like to know whether during the period that you were chairman you became aware of the existence of any effort on the part of the Communist Party to influence the conduct of your organization. We are not interested whatever in the party of which you may have been chairman for any other purpose than to ascertain whether or not there were Communist Party activities which had something to do with it.

(At this point Mr. Zuckman conferred with Mr. France.)

Mr. ZUCKMAN. On that score, Mr. Tavenner, I'll invoke the privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. I submit the witness hasn't said he refuses to answer and says, "I will invoke the privilege under the fifth amendment."

Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

(At this point Mr. Zuckman conferred with Mr. France.)

Mr. ZUCKMAN. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that it is a violation of the first amendment of the Constitution and on the grounds of the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. SCHERER. That part of the fifth amendment which says you can refuse to answer if you feel that your answer might tend to incriminate you; is that right?

Mr. ZUCKMAN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time in 1946 or 1947 and at the same time an official or one holding an official position in the American Labor Party at Albany?

Mr. ZUCKMAN. Same answer as the previous answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ZUCKMAN. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ZUCKMAN. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Will Janet Scott please come forward?

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss SCOTT. I do.

Mr. FRANCE. The witness says, if the photographers want to take pictures, she would like them to take them now.

Mr. KEARNEY. That was the instruction the Chair gave the photographers this morning.

Mr. FRANCE. She also would like to take advantage of the committee's ruling that there would be no broadcasting.

Mr. KEARNEY. The request will be granted.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF JANET SCOTT, ACCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL, ROYAL W. FRANCE

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please?

Miss SCOTT. Janet Scott.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a native of Albany? Were you born here?

Miss SCOTT. I was born here over 21 years ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have gotten myself in trouble before in attempting to be too specific on that question, but I am sure I would not have in your instance.

Are you accompanied by counsel?

Miss SCOTT. I am; by Mr. France.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. FRANCE. Royal W. France, 104 East 40th Street, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation, please?

Miss SCOTT. I'm a newspaper reporter.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your formal educational training has consisted of?

Miss SCOTT. I was graduated from St. Agnes School in Albany and from Wellesley College—a B. A. degree from Wellesley.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you receive your B. A. degree?

Miss SCOTT. 1925.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you advise the committee, please, what your record of employment has been since 1935?

Miss SCOTT. No; 1925.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I understand that. I am asking you since 1935.

Miss SCOTT. Oh, yes.

I have worked for the Knickerbocker News—that is, for the Press Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. For how long a period of time?

Miss SCOTT. From—well, the full time, from 1935 on; from before that time, as a matter of fact. It was my first job and my only job, full time.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee's investigation discloses that you took a leading part and an active part in the formation of the newspaper guild in this area; is that information correct?

Miss SCOTT. Oh, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was the newspaper guild formed in this locality?

Miss SCOTT. Oh, it was chartered, I think, on March 10—or, anyway, in March 1934—Tri City Newspaper Guild.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you held various positions in the guild since that time?

Miss SCOTT. I've always been on the executive board or committee from that time on, and I have been secretary-treasurer, and for one term president of the guild.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you president of the guild?

Miss SCOTT. I really don't recall the date. It was during the war when a president went into service, and the date has escaped me. It was in the 1940's, as I recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it in 1946 or 1947?

Miss SCOTT. I really don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you occupy the other positions that you referred to?

Miss SCOTT. Well, I've always been on the executive committee, and I was secretary—first, I was treasurer and then we consolidated the positions of treasurer with secretary-treasurer, and I was that, I think, for a period of, oh, 6 or 7 years. I could get the data, but I am sure your research people would have that.

Mr. TAVENNER. I know; if you could just answer it within a reasonable period—

Miss SCOTT. I really don't remember. I served about 6 years, as I remember, as secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over what general period?

Miss SCOTT. I think from about 1936 or 1937 I was secretary-treasurer.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the course of your work in the newspaper guild, did you have occasion to meet members of the guild from Los Angeles?

Miss SCOTT. Oh, I had occasion, yes; and from all over the country at the guild conventions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Morgan Hull, one of the founders of the guild?

(At this point Miss Scott conferred with Mr. France.)

Miss SCOTT. Yes; he was an organizer for the guild, and he was at conventions. I mean, there's a long list of delegates—hundreds of them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Charles W. Judson?

Miss SCOTT. Not that I recall, Counsel.

I am bad on names for a newspaper reporter—I am sorry—and I face it sometimes. I don't know.

He might have been a delegate when I was there. I am not saying I didn't meet the man, but I don't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. My purpose in asking you these questions is this: Rather extensive hearings were conducted by this committee on the west coast and in Washington, during the course of which a number of persons testified—probably 8 or 9—and advised the committee regarding the activities of the Communist Party within the Newspaper Guild. Morgan Hull, to whom we referred, in addition to being an organizer for the guild, was very active in organizing a unit of the Communist Party within the guild. Charles Judson, who was a member of the guild in Los Angeles, was very active in that work.

Did you become acquainted with Urcel Daniel?

(At this point Miss Scott conferred with Mr. France.)

Miss SCOTT. Well, she was a delegate. I don't remember when. I think she was from one west coast city. I never knew too well whether she was from Los Angeles or San Francisco. We had delegates from all over. I—

Mr. TAVENNER. You attended, then, I assume, the national conventions of the American Newspaper Guild?

Miss SCOTT. No; not all of them—the ones to which I was elected. I attended, oh, maybe four of them, or so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell me which the four were that you attended?

Miss SCOTT. I attended one in New York, which was before we lost our very great president, Heywood Broun.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the date, please, approximately? Can you fix the year?

Miss SCOTT. That was before we took the radical step of joining the A. F. of L. I believe it was 1935—about 1936.

And I was at the one where we joined the CIO in St. Louis, and I really don't remember the dates. It's about 1937 or 1936, in that time.

I was also at one in Toronto, which was the last one, I think, that Heywood Broun was alive.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the approximate date?

Miss SCOTT. Those were more or less at the same—I mean the next year—and I've attended one, I think, in Detroit, and also one in the Twin Cities.

There were five, I guess, and the dates of those were in the late thirties or forties.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has been advised by a number of these witnesses as to the activities of the Communist Party within

the Newspaper Guild, and my purpose in asking you these questions is to ascertain from you what knowledge you had, if any, regarding Communist activities within the Newspaper Guild.

What knowledge did you have of Communist Party activities, if any, in the Newspaper Guild?

(At this point Miss Scott conferred with Mr. France.)

Miss SCOTT. Well, I have a statement that I would like to make on this general subject—that is, any question which is along these lines—

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I am sorry—

Miss SCOTT. Not the guild.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will have to ask you to answer my question first.

Miss SCOTT. Well, then, I would have to decline to answer the question on the grounds of the violation of the—invoking the first and the fifth and the sixth amendments.

Mr. KEARNEY. The fifth amendment on the grounds it might incriminate you?

Miss SCOTT. Is that the word?

(At this point Miss Scott conferred with Mr. France.)

Miss SCOTT. Yes; that would be substantially the word.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time during the years 1946 and 1947?

Miss SCOTT. I must decline to answer any question like that on the same grounds.

And could I ask whether I may now please hand you my statement and be able to enter the statement in the record, or read it?

Mr. KEARNEY. Miss Scott, let me ask you this question: If you were not a member of the Communist Party, would you so state?

Miss SCOTT. Congressman Kearney, I don't think anybody, any lawyer, would be getting to the New York State Bar examination today if they took that attitude about the fifth amendment. I mean, I think if you would let me read my statement—

Mr. KEARNEY. Would you mind answering my question, please.

Miss SCOTT. I think I stand on the statement. The statement explains the safeguards of the fifth amendment.

Mr. KEARNEY. I insist, Miss Scott, that you answer my question.

(At this point Miss Scott conferred with Mr. France.)

Miss SCOTT. I am invoking my privilege again.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is the answer I expected to receive.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you aware of any organized effort of the Communist Party in Albany to infiltrate the American Labor Party in Albany?

Miss SCOTT. I stand on the amendments—invoke the same amendments—and I mean these—you know, these specific ones I mention in the statement—each time I say that.

Mr. TAVENNER. It will be satisfactory, I am sure, for you to say for the same reasons and on the same grounds.

Miss SCOTT. For the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Miss SCOTT. Decline to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a section meeting of the Communist Party in Albany which was held during the year 1946 or 1947?

Miss SCOTT. I must decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. No; I beg to differ with you. There is no reason why you must do so.

Miss SCOTT. I think there is.

Mr. TAVENNER. The question is: Do you decline?

Miss SCOTT. I decline to answer it, on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Miss SCOTT. I decline to answer on the same grounds. It is an invasion of my constitutional rights.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KEARNEY. The witness is excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call Sarah Kaufman.

Will you come forward, please?

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF SARAH KAUFMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL, ROYAL W. FRANCE

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. My name is Sarah Kaufman—K-a-u-f-m-a-n.

Mr. KEARNEY. Let's ask the photographers, please, not to interrupt the witness while she is testifying.

Mr. FRANCE. May I state, Mr. Chairman, this witness also would prefer not to have the radio broadcasting.

Mr. KEARNEY. She objects to the radio broadcast?

Mr. FRANCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. The request is granted, under the rules of the committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. Yes; I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. FRANCE. Royal W. France, 104 East 40th Street, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a native of Albany?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. No; I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you born?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. I was born in Copenhagen, Denmark.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. Yes; I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you naturalized?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. It's a matter of public record.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us where that record is made?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. That record is in the Bronx, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the date, please.

Mrs. KAUFMAN. It's a matter of public record, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. The witness will please answer the questions.

(At this point Mrs. Kaufman conferred with Mr. France.)

Mrs. KAUFMAN. It's approximately June 1924.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you married?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. Yes; I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you naturalized under your married name?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. No; I was naturalized when I was 10 years old.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what was your name?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. Sarah Schwartzman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Kaufman, the committee has information indicating you took part in Communist Party activities in Albany, and it is the desire of the committee to ask you what you know of the operations of the Communist Party in this area. So, I would like to ask you whether or not, first, is it correct that you do have knowledge of Communist Party activities in this area?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. I refuse to answer any questions relating to my beliefs, associations, and affiliations, and for many reasons. Paraphrasing one of the great documents of our country, the Declaration of Independence—may I not quote the Declaration of Independence?

Mr. KEARNEY. The witness will refrain from making a speech.

Mrs. KAUFMAN. Well, I want to give my reasons—

Mr. KEARNEY. Just answer the question.

Mrs. KAUFMAN. That I refuse to answer any questions—

Mr. KEARNEY. Just answer the questions of counsel.

Mrs. KAUFMAN. With regard to my personal beliefs, affiliations, and associations, and I wish to invoke the fifth amendment, which says no witness—

Mr. KEARNEY. We understand what the fifth amendment says—

Mrs. KAUFMAN. May be compelled to be a witness against himself.

Mr. KEARNEY. And there is no need for you to go on further with any speech.

Mrs. KAUFMAN. I should like to make it clear I say this without conscience of guilt.

Mr. KEARNEY. We want to treat the witness as we have treated all witnesses, with the utmost courtesy; but we expect cooperation from the witness.

Mrs. KAUFMAN. The witness will not cooperate with a committee of this nature that pries into the personal beliefs of a witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. I might say to you, Mrs. Kaufman, I have asked you no question regarding your personal beliefs. I am interested only in facts. So, I am asking you: Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. I refuse to answer any questions, and I invoke the fifth amendment.

(At this point Mrs. Kaufman conferred with Mr. France.)

Mr. KEARNEY. If you were not a member of the Communist Party, would you so state?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Albany?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. I've been here 15 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What part of that period have you been married?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. All that period.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you engaged in any type of employment since you have been in Albany?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. Yes; I worked on a very temporary basis for a very short time for the State of New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. 1939 and part of 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of the position that you held?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. Menial. I did typing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. KAUFMAN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1946 or 1947?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1946 or 1947?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you employed during 1946 and 1947?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. I've been a housewife.

Mr. TAVENNER. During that entire period?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Mrs. Kaufman, have you ever received any compensation or anything of value from the Communist Party?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever contributed anything to the Communist Party?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, and—if I could ask the kind permission and indulgence of this committee for 5 minutes—I would like to give my reasons for invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you have a statement you would like to file?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. I do.

Mr. KEARNEY. Will you hand it up, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. KAUFMAN. I refuse to answer the question on the same grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KEARNEY. The witness may be excused.

Mr. FRANCE. Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank the committee and counsel for extending me the courtesy of putting these witnesses in out of order and in order that I might meet another engagement.

Mr. KEARNEY. It has been a pleasure to accommodate you.

Do you have a further witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. Louis Geller.

Would you come forward, please?

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GELLER. I do.

Mr. COLLOMS. My client has requested that the broadcast be turned off and, in accordance with the committee's ruling—

Mr. KEARNEY. Under the committee rules, the request is granted.

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS GELLER, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
ALBERT L. COLLOMS

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

(At this point Mr. Geller conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. GELLER. My name is Louis Geller—G-e-l-l-e-r.

(At this point Mr. Geller conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. GELLER. I am, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please state his name and address for the benefit of the record?

Mr. COLLOMS. My name is Albert L. Colloms, 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Geller, the committee is anxious to know what information you have, if any, regarding Communist Party activities in this area.

Now, Mr. Nick Campas testified here this morning and you may have heard his testimony. His testimony was that you were a member of the Young Communist League along with him, and others. My first question, therefore, is: Was Mr. Campas telling the truth about that matter?

Mr. GELLER. I decline to answer this question, Mr. Chairman, and I'll tell you why. I decline to——

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment.

Mr. GELLER. To answer questions of this committee regarding my political views or associations.

Mr. KEARNEY. I think that the witness and the committee will get along much better if the witness answers the question. If the witness has a statement, it may be handed up to the Chair.

(At this point Mr. Geller conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. COLLOMS. May we ask that the statement be included in the record, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. KEARNEY. Let me have a chance to look it over first, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want, of course, to give you an opportunity to state the legal grounds, if any, that you have——

Mr. GELLER. I would like——

Mr. TAVENNER. For refusing to answer the question.

Mr. GELLER. May I have your permission to state my legal grounds?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; if you state your legal grounds.

Mr. GELLER. I decline to answer the questions of this committee regarding my political views or associations or affiliations because I feel such questions violate my rights under the first amendment of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution which—by which all citizens are guaranteed the freedom of speech and peaceful association.

Second, I decline to answer such questions because I refuse to be a party to this Un-American Committee's repressive action——

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, just a minute.

Mr. GELLER. Did you give me permission to read my statement?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; not that kind of statement.

Mr. GELLER. Well, I am giving you my legal grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. No; that is not a legal ground.

Mr. GELLER. Do you mean to tell me the first amendment and fifth amendment are not legal grounds?

Mr. TAVENNER. If you are relying—

Mr. KEARNEY. We are not going to let the witness get away with any statement that includes the words "Un-American Committee." If the witness wants to designate this committee by its title, he may do so; but he will not be allowed to designate it as the "Un-American Committee."

Mr. TAVENNER. If you are relying—

Mr. GELLER. I beg your pardon. May I add—

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. If you are relying upon constitutional reasons as the grounds for refusal to answer the question and you name the first amendment and you name the fifth amendment, the committee knows very well what you mean.

Mr. GELLER. That's true, but the public doesn't know what I mean. The public hasn't been a chance—hasn't had a chance to hear what the witness wants to say.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you don't want to say anything. That's the trouble. You want to make a speech.

Mr. GELLER. Well, I want to say something, but you won't give me a chance.

Mr. KEARNEY. I will say to the witness if he will answer the questions we will let him talk here all day.

It was requested yesterday there be no demonstrations, favorable, or unfavorable.

I will say to the attorney representing this witness that this statement will not be admitted and made a part of the record for the reason that, all through it, it contains the words "Un-American Committee."

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand, then, that you base your refusal to testify on the first and the fifth amendments?

Mr. GELLER. That is true, and the sixth.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the sixth?

Mr. GELLER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, were you a member of the Young Communist League at the time that Mr. Campas testified that you were?

Mr. GELLER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that you have already stated—the first, fifth and sixth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GELLER. I refuse to answer on the first, fifth, and sixth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. KEARNEY. If you were not a member of the Communist Party, would you so state?

Mr. GELLER. I refuse to answer on the first, fifth, and sixth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GELLER. I refuse to answer on the above reasons—the first, fifth, and sixth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your employment?

(At this point Mr. Geller conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. GELLER. I am an electrician.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the city of Albany?

Mr. GELLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been engaged as an electrician in the city of Albany?

Mr. GELLER. Approximately 5 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that time, how and where were you employed?

Mr. GELLER. How—what period of time, may I ask?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, what was your employment immediately prior to the one that you just named?

Mr. GELLER. I was employed as a foreman in a motor rebuilding plant outside of Albany.

Mr. TAVENNER. What plant was that?

Mr. GELLER. I don't think it's necessary; but if you insist upon it, I'll give it to you. I don't think you ought to bother with the people involved. It was A. L. Parson & Sons, Central Bridge, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that employment, what was your employment?

Mr. GELLER. From 1939 to 1947, I was employed in the General Electric Co. in Schenectady.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your employment in Schenectady?

Mr. GELLER. Various types of employment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please state them?

Mr. GELLER. I was a radio test man.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what branch or department of the plant?

(At this point Mr. Geller conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. GELLER. In the transmitter section of General Electric.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you working on Government projects?

(At this point Mr. Geller conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. GELLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What type of Government projects?

Mr. GELLER. Transmitters.

Mr. TAVENNER. They were used for what purpose by the United States Government?

Mr. GELLER. Aircraft; aircraft transmitters.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you a member of the Communist Party while you were working on those transmitters?

Mr. GELLER. I refuse to answer on the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the Constitution.

I have always been a loyal citizen of this country. I have never committed any act which might be construed as detrimental to the United States, to the Bill of Rights, to the Constitution.

Mr. SCHERER. We haven't said you have, have we?

Mr. KEARNEY. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you aware of any Communist Party activities among your associates engaged in the war work which you have just described?

Mr. GELLER. I refuse to answer it on the first, fifth, and sixth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the organizer of the UE in the territory that you were then working in and under whom you came in the organizational setup of the work?

Mr. GELLER. I don't know. I don't know exactly what you mean.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you employed in that position?

Mr. GELLER. Sir?

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you employed in the position you have described in Schenectady?

Mr. GELLER. Through the war.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know if any other employees who worked with you at General Electric during that time were members of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. GELLER. I refuse to answer it on the first, fifth, and sixth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. The fifth amendment applies to yourself, but not to knowledge that you might have of third parties, or other parties.

Do you want to consult your counsel about that?

(At this point Mr. Geller conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. GELLER. If that's a question on your part, sir, I refuse to answer on the above grounds. If that's a statement of fact on your part, why, that's all it is.

Mr. KEARNEY. The Chair will allow your answer to stand.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason for your leaving your position with GE?

Mr. GELLER. Financial.

Mr. COLLOMS. Explain it.

Mr. GELLER. How?

Mr. COLLOMS. Explain it.

Mr. GELLER. Well, I was making \$56 a week, and \$56 a week didn't go very far with a wife and 2 children. An opportunity presented itself for advancement otherwise. So I left GE.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GELLER. I refuse to answer on the above reasons already stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KEARNEY. The witness is excused.

The committee will stand in recess until tomorrow morning at 10:30, and all those in the audience who have been subpoenaed today will return at that hour.

(Whereupon, at 3:42 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 10:30 a. m., Wednesday, July 15, 1953.)

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE
ALBANY, N. Y., AREA—Part 2

*U.S. Congress. House. Committee on
Un-American Activities.*

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

JULY 15 AND 16, 1953

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

INCLUDING INDEX



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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121, STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *
17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *
(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83d CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE ALBANY, N. Y., AREA—PART 2

WEDNESDAY, JULY 15, 1953

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Albany, N. Y.

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:30 a. m., in court room No. 1 of the Federal Building, Albany, N. Y., Hon. Bernard W. Kearney (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Bernard W. Kearney (chairman of the subcommittee) and Gordon H. Scherer.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk; and James A. Andrews and Earl L. Fuoss, investigators.

Mr. KEARNEY. The committee will be in order.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call as the first witness Mr. John Mills Davis.

Will you come forward, please, Mr. Davis?

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Davis, will you hold up your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DAVIS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN MILLS DAVIS

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please, Mr. Davis?

Mr. DAVIS. Your Honor, I would like to make a request that this portion of the hearing of the testimony not be broadcast.

Mr. KEARNEY. Under the rules of the committee, your request is granted.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please, sir?

Mr. DAVIS. John Mills Davis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Davis, it is the practice of the committee to explain to each witness that he has the right to counsel if he so desires, and has the right to consult counsel at any time during the hearing that an occasion may require. It is noted that you do not have counsel with you. Do you desire counsel?

Mr. DAVIS. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Davis?

Mr. DAVIS. Chicago, Ill., 1913.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your educational training has consisted of—that is, your formal educational training?

Mr. DAVIS. High school; extra courses in specialized fields, and also some academic.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your record of employment has been, beginning with 1930?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, in 1930 I was working in the department stores in Gimbel Bros. in New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain employed by Gimbel Bros. in New York?

Mr. DAVIS. I was there until 1940—maybe 1941. I left there in—at a short period, working for an electric company in New York, at which time I went to night school and took up the special information necessary for marine electrical work. This lasted less than a year, and after that I was employed as a shipyard worker, primarily in the Todd Shipyards in Brooklyn, as an electrician.

Mr. TAVENNER. Approximately when did your employment begin and end at the Todd Shipyard Co.?

Mr. DAVIS. Roughly from 1942, I would say, until I was drafted in the service in 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain in the armed services?

Mr. DAVIS. I remained in the armed services until 1946.

After I came out, I worked as an aluminum worker for a while. I worked as an iron worker, as an electrician for a little while.

After that, I worked here in Albany for the Communist Party, the State organ of the Communist Party.

After that, I worked as a fireman, and I'm employed as a fireman now.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say you worked for the Communist Party here in the city of Albany?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have a title, or what was your exact position in the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. I was the organizer for the Communist Party in the Albany area, including Troy, Cohoes, and Watervliet.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, Mr. Davis, let us go back for a moment to the city of New York. Did you become, first, a member of the Communist Party in the city of New York?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir. In 1939 I was working in the department stores and communism and Communists began to be talked about. I became curious, and got hold of some Communist writings, and read the Daily Worker; and from there I went to the Rand School and took some courses in the working class.

And Rand School is an anti-Communist school. It is known as a Socialist school.

From there, I went to a workers' school and took some further courses.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, when you say you went to the workers' school, is that a school maintained and operated by the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. It was at the time. I believe it's been discontinued.

Mr. TAVENNER. At that time it was a school maintained by the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. In New York?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Proceed, please.

Mr. DAVIS. After finishing these courses, I decided I wanted to join the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, let me interrupt you there a moment. How long did you attend this Communist Party school in New York?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, if I throw it together with the time I started studying, the period would cover, say, 6 months' time. The workers' school itself—I couldn't recall. It was part of that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell the committee who conducted the courses which you took in the workers' school?

Mr. DAVIS. I'm sorry, I can't remember who conducted the courses. They were men and women who wrote either in the Daily Worker or wrote Communist literature. They were Communists, publicized as such through the Communist press.

Mr. TAVENNER. They were open members of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. They were what you would call open members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give the committee just a general idea of the type of instruction which you received there?

Mr. DAVIS. The instruction you receive in the Communist school will roughly cover studies called imperialism, studies of the Communist Party structure; studies of the strategy and tactics.

Mr. SCHERER. Strategy and tactics for what?

Mr. DAVIS. Study of general strategy and tactics. I'll go into it more later; and, oh, studies of writings by Communists of what the Soviet Union had accomplished in a period of time since the Communist revolution.

I believe this would cover the subjects I studied. If the question is what was taught, there were also specialized courses in breakdowns of any one of these subjects. However, I think in the later testimony—

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, as a result of these courses which you took in the workers' school in New York, I understand you decided you would attempt to join the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. As I said, I became convinced I wanted to join the Communist Party because, through a study—and, of course, going along with the study must be a belief—though you may think at the time it is an understanding, it's more based on an acceptance of the things that are taught.

It looks very good to become a member of the Communist Party. In the first place, you can picture yourself as a leader of the people, and as knowing more and knowing the answers to all of the national, local, international questions, having very complete and concise answers, where the other 99 and about 97 percent of the American people aren't so equipped.

So, from this point of view, it feels good to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. May I interrupt just a minute?

When you say "other people," what do you mean by that? Future leadership, should the Communist conspiracy succeed? Is that in the background of it?

Mr. DAVIS. I am not surprised, sir, you don't completely understand what leadership of the people means, because after my membership in the Communist Party I also didn't completely understand what it meant. It's left to you and it's broad enough that you can interpret it to make yourself feel just as big as your own personality wants you to feel.

If you want to make it specific, I'm afraid you'll have to take any specific answer from a Communist work. They'll give it to you very clearly what they mean by "leader of the people."

Mr. SCHERER. Well, we have heard a lot of witnesses and I just wondered what you had in mind when you said "leadership of the people."

Mr. DAVIS. What I had in mind at the time as leadership of the people was by being a Communist you would be able to give to the people something that they didn't have and something that they would want to have; and also another attitude that you can develop upon believing these works written by the Communists is that you are in a position where any weaknesses or any faults you find can immediately be turned, blamed on what the Communists call the capitalist system. I mean everything bad can be blamed on the Communist system—pardon me—can be blamed on the capitalist system, and everything good that takes place, such as a worker happens to get an increase or a day off, why, that can be laid to the credit of the Communists, and if the same worker happens to lose out and maybe find himself out of a job, why, he can then blame that on the capitalists.

So, it's a very pat way of living, where you find yourself sitting very comfortably, not feeling sorry for a worker who might be in a bad situation, but merely telling him it's the fault of the capitalist system. And these reasons put together give you a set of illusions which, if you believe the writings and teachings of the Communist Party, it's a very comfortable thing to join.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, the result is that you did become a member.

Will you tell the committee just how you went about becoming a member of the party?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, I was very independent. I went to the Communist section headquarters and got a card for myself and filled it out and handed it in to the Communist section headquarters there in New York City.

I was later contacted by someone from the department stores, and I don't recall who the individual was, and taken into the group working in the department stores.

There were a number in the department stores, and the only individuals that I can recall were William Michaelson, who held an official position in the union—

Mr. TAVENNER. That is William Michaelson?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Helen Jacobson, who was very busy in all union work, and work in other organizations; also in the Communist Party itself.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the first name?

Mr. DAVIS. Helen.

Mr. TAVENNER. Helen Jacobson?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

There was Mary Kotick, who was also very active in a leadership way in the union, as well as in the Communist activities, and at that time in this American League for Peace and Democracy organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name, please?

Mr. DAVIS. I can spell it, but I wouldn't bet on its being a correct spelling. If you wish me to spell it, as I hear it, I will do that for you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, try to spell it as you pronounced it, if you are not certain of the spelling.

Mr. DAVIS. It is K-o-t-i-c-k.

And there was a William Bender, who was more on the order of a social leader in the union, and among the party members, social in the sense that he always had a good party going and was the life of the party, very amusing, and before I left the department stores, this William Bender had dropped out entirely of all union activity and had left the store, and the rumor was that he had also left the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I would like for you, incidentally, to mention, where any person's name has been mentioned as having been a member of the Communist Party, if there are any facts within your knowledge which would indicate that they have left the party. If there are any such facts within your knowledge, you should give the committee that information.

Mr. DAVIS. Well, as I said, this William Bender was the only one that I remember, and the word was that he had left the party: and I know it was preceded by a complete drop in the activity, all affairs of the union and the party.

And there were many others there in the group, in the department store, but I can't remember who they were.

There was one individual—I remember a name—and I also remember there were a couple of individuals by the same name, and I don't remember his first name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, if you are uncertain and there were a number of people by the same name in the same department store, I think you should not mention them.

Now, did you use an assumed name when you became a party member?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, no, sir. One of my main weaknesses was, if I wanted to be a Communist, I didn't care too much who knew it; and when I joined, I believe it was Michaelson who told me I would find out later why it was necessary to work under cover, but I never did use an assumed name.

Mr. SCHERER. What position does Michaelson hold today, if you know?

Mr. DAVIS. I can't say, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. What position did he hold at the time you had contact with him?

Mr. DAVIS. He was in the top leadership of the union. The title I don't recall.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that the same Michaelson who testified before us in New York, Mr. Counsel, just a few weeks ago?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am advised it is the same person.

Mr. SCHERER. I am sure it is.

Mr. TAVENNER. And my recollection is that Michaelson, when he appeared as a witness, refused to answer all material questions.

Mr. SCHERER. Yes; he took the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

What was the name of the union?

Mr. DAVIS. Local 2, Retail-Wholesale Department Store Workers of America.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us that again, please?

Mr. DAVIS. Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the number of the local?

Mr. DAVIS. Local 2.

Mr. TAVENNER. In New York City?

Mr. DAVIS. In New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee very briefly what the principal interests of that group of the Communist Party were and what work they engaged in?

Mr. DAVIS. In reference to the union, the principal interest of the Communist Party was to keep it well-organized and keep it strong and keep urging the people to bring their grievances up so they could be settled. It was pretty wholly the type of an influence which would lead the members of the department store to look toward these Communists as people primarily interested in their welfare.

The catch in this is that somebody, beginning to be influenced by this attitude of the Communists would immediately begin to be contacted and given doses in pamphlet, leaflet, or a meeting form of the propaganda that I learned at the schools. The imperialism stretched out and broadened to include almost anything that individual might develop a dislike for in his present life. They would begin to be influenced with propaganda stating how well off and how superior the workers in the Soviet Union were making out in comparison to themselves.

If they really showed promise, they might be given information showing them how there was a Communist Party around that could give them an opportunity to help the members of their union, the way it could be shown that the Communists were helping the members of the union and the workers in the store.

Their influence is aimed to make people sympathetic in the long run to the Communists as leaders and follow them in National, State, all issues, so that the Communists, by establishing their influence in the union, on a genuine basis, and genuinely attempting to help those workers, whose helping would result in their becoming favorable to the attitudes of the Communist Party. By doing this, they would be able to broaden their influence along the lines of the national issues, make these people accept what they have to say on any issue that might be in the forefront at the time.

Mr. SCHERER. Did this William Michaelson advocate the things you have been telling us in the last few minutes?

Mr. DAVIS. William Michaelson was a leader in the union, as I have said, and he was a leader in the party, and he was extremely well educated in many lines and his influence was felt in every activity.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Counsel, I have a picture here of William Michaelson, who testified before the committee.

Mr. DAVIS. Is that the picture out of one of the New York papers?

He's got his chin covered, and I couldn't positively recognize William Michaelson without his chin.

Mr. SCHERER. Yes; his chin is covered.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain a member of the group at Gimbel Bros.?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, maybe 6 months before I left the department stores.

You see, up until this period I had been a supervisor in the department stores, a petty supervisor—a nice, soft job. About this time, in fooling around among some of the people I was supervising, it happened one of these people got their glasses broken and this individual was not very favorable to the union. So I was very quickly removed from the position as supervisor and the comrades weren't too successful in replacing me, but they did put me back in the store of the capacity as stockman. Whereas I remained loyal and found many excuses for this, I at the same time didn't like the new position too well. Then I left to go into this electrical manufacturing and assembling plant and take up the course—I had some electrical background—to brush up on electricity as it applies to marine work.

When I finished the course, I left that place and went into defense production in the shipyards—and this is the answer to how long I was in. I was in until I went into the shipyards and then I was transferred.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean your membership in the Communist Party was transferred?

Mr. DAVIS. My membership in the Communist Party was transferred to a shipyard local.

Well, in the shipyards I was working 20 days, with 1 day off, working 10 hours a day, with sometimes extra overtime, and I had very little time for any work, and maybe attended 1 or 2 of the meetings; and I was a member—I mean I considered myself a member, and I was considered a member, but it's—as far as Communist activity there, I have no knowledge of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any recollection of the names of the persons that were involved in the Communist Party group in the shipyards?

Mr. DAVIS. I don't remember any of them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, that brings you up to the time of your induction into the Armed Forces, doesn't it?

Mr. DAVIS. I was inducted into the Armed Forces and during the time I was there the Armed Forces sent me to school for practically the entire time I was in the Navy, and finished up by assigning me to the west coast to be shipped out with radar maintenance work and at that time the war ended. During this time I read when I could get hold of literature and Communist work, only insofar as I talked to other people in my line—and my way of speaking was by that time pretty thoroughly saturated with Communist ways of speaking. The Communist language, while it's written the same, it's certainly not the same in content or purpose as the normal American and normal English language, and that would constitute my Communist Party membership and work and until I was discharged from the Navy in 1946.

Then, in 1946, I came back and my wife was living on the East Side in New York. I was taken into the East Side section there in New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean the East Side section of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. It had another name. I don't remember—it was, I believe, on Second Street. I think it was the Henry Forbes section.

Mr. KEARNEY. What was that name?

Mr. DAVIS. Henry Forbes. Hank Forbes, they would call it. He had been a Communist who I believe died in the Spanish civil war, or some place, and they named it in honor of him; but the section——

Mr. TAVENNER. The spelling is F-o-r-b-e-s, isn't it?

Mr. DAVIS. Correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. The reason I said that is it is a little hard to understand over the speaking system the exact pronunciation at times, and I merely wanted to clarify it.

Mr. DAVIS. Oh, yes; I understand now.

Well, probably one of my biggest failings when I was in the Communist Party—I was a very good leg man and always had my mouth open, but my eyes and ears were pretty well shut; and while this might have been some value to the Communist Party, I find it now more than a little embarrassing how few things I can remember in the space of time what I was doing, what I considered so much.

In this Henry Forbes' section—it was a neighborhood section—it was very close to the Communist Party National and State headquarters on—on, I believe, 13th or 12th Streets—and, as a result, I do remember the writer Mike Gold.

See, when I try to remember these things by myself I can't. Mike Gold was a writer and, I mean, when I try to remember them as a result of thinking at this time, not indicating somebody has made me remember them in case it's picked up.

Mike Gold and Carl Brodsky, another well-known insurance man, was a member there, and our section organizer, I believe was his title, Wallach.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name, please?

Mr. DAVIS. W-a-l-l-a-c-h.

I was very active here in terms of distributions, in terms of going to many meetings, in terms of canvassing.

I was even at one time a chairman of one of the branches in this section, but I don't recall any of the other people who worked with me in the section.

Now, it takes me up until the time—it was while I was at this section, the East Side section, that a woman who was the section chairman—and I don't remember her name—asked me if I would consider becoming an organizer, a paid organizer for the Communist Party.

Well, this looked very good to me. I liked this, because this gave me reason to further believe in the illusions which I had accepted, and to further see myself as developing as a leader of the people, and to maybe have a little bit of thinking done on developing some of these pat answers which were always ready for every issue; and I was very glad at the time being asked to become an organizer for the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you fix the approximate date of that interview?

Mr. DAVIS. I would say it was in the fall of 1947—sometime before September.

Well that would place it as near as I can.

Upon stating that I would like to become an organizer for the Communist Party, I was sent to the State headquarters on 13th Street, and there interviewed by George Blake, who held a position in the State apparatus. I think he was organizational director for the Borough of Manhattan, and he discussed with me my background, activity and education, and referred me to Robert Thompson, who was at the time the State chairman of the Communist Party. Thompson, I believe, is the man who put the final O. K. on me, and he arranged that I should meet Harold Klein, who was then the area organizer for this upstate eastern New York.

Subsequently Harold Klein called for me at my house and took me up here to Albany.

Well, no, before this, Thompson suggested and recommended that I take a refresher course before I take over my assignments as organizer for the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us about that refresher course?

Mr. DAVIS. Now, the refresher course was conducted by leaders of the party whose names I recognized at the time because they were writers and speakers for the party, whose names I have no recollection of now.

The classes were composed of a group of promising Communists throughout New York City, who I hadn't met before and I haven't met since, and who I also don't recall any of their names.

The courses were Communist courses. They were, first, a course in imperialism. Well, imperialism, original imperialism, was written, I think, about Germany, and since then a book covering the same data has been written about almost every country; and, of course, there have been books written on the same subject about the United States.

The subject of imperialism is a great collection of technical data and technical facts. It's a collection of the organization of the particular country you happen to be in, in terms of who its economic and political leaders are.

(Representative Bernard W. Kearney left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. DAVIS. The importance of the course in imperialism—and it's a very complete course and the use of a very vital weapon in the education of—in this case, in the education of the American people, to the end of instilling a complete distrust and a complete hatred and a complete attitude on their part that all of their troubles are due to capitalism; and upon acceptance of such a course you have in your hands the weapon—very little variations—what I mean is: If you are in a union, you apply it to your union and management. If you are in a broader organization, such as the American League for Peace and Democracy, you apply it to your party and the Soviet Union, the Communist section, as against the democratic sections of the world. Wherever you are, it's played in such a way as to develop a complete distrust and a complete disrespect for your own way of life and for your government, for your leaders in all fields of economic, social, and political spheres of life.

Mr. SCHERER. Including your religious beliefs?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, it's rather difficult to say including religious beliefs. You say, if you believe the doctrine of communism, there's not very much need to directly do anything so dangerous as directly attack your religious beliefs, because in order to accept these doctrines of communism, you must replace your god, whoever it might be, whatever it might be, with the god of the current leader of the Soviet Union. I mean Lenin, Stalin, probably now Malenkov, or in the case of this country you must begin to worship your own leader. Most of my time I believe it was Earl Browder.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, then, it was a sort of subtle or indirect attack on the religious beliefs?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, I think the religious organizations in this country are a major organization in all respects, and as such when I say it's made to make you distrust and disrespect all major organizations I certainly don't think it would exclude anything so tremendous in size and influence as the churches, so that—

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know, from your experience, that the great religions and religious institutions of this country are considered by the Communists as one of the great obstacles to their success?

Mr. DAVIS. Religious institutions are considered, I think, more correctly by the Communists as a tremendous mass organization, with tremendous mass influence, which must be weakened if the Communists are going to make any advances on the economic front.

So, while their interest in religion may be tremendous, nevertheless, the primary interest is in the economic organizations, because they must break the influence that the religion might have over them in order to make such a thing as imperialism, which I am referring to here, be accepted by an individual.

They can't accept the complete disrespect for their own Government and their own ways of life if they don't at the same time accept it with reference to such a major portion of their life as religion, and I'm not speaking merely of the organized church attendance but, rather, of the religious feelings and the religious background of the American people.

Mr. SCHERER. Then what I said is true—that religion or the religious institutions were considered as a great obstacle to the spread of Communist doctrine and Communist conspiracy?

Mr. DAVIS. I believe that if you are considering religion a major organization, with a major influence, in this country, then it's a major obstacle to the Communists.

Mr. SCHERER. Go ahead, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were speaking of the courses.

Mr. DAVIS. Yes; the refresher course in reference to imperialism.

Then there's always a course on the Soviet Union. The course on the Soviet Union would give you the weapon which would make the group which you are attempting to influence see that there is something better because the Soviet Union, as it is taught by the Communists, is a great place, and that everybody who is there is very happy, and that all of the workers, especially, just love to work on piecework and work extra hard for the state, whereas here the pieceworker only works extra hard for his extra piecework bonus; but with this course on the Soviet Union, you have the opposite of your course on imperialism, where you are taught to respect and look toward the Soviet Union as the great leader in world affairs.

This also is a weapon you're constantly using when you're in the field doing Communist Party work. You must at all times tell everything that you have learned in reference to the Soviet Union and everything that you have believed in order to have these same people who you teach to distrust, disrespect their own ways of life, to look toward another way of life, which they can put in its place.

Another major point in such discussion is the study of the Communist Party itself—and here is your study of the organization which is going to do the leading—the study of how it can be organized so that it can, with a minimum of influence, at the proper moment, exert a maximum result in terms of attaining control of the—it doesn't have to be nationwide control, in terms of obtaining control of a union, group organization, neighborhood organization, or any other organizations where they happen to have influence.

The study of the Communist Party is the study of the group that is going to take away this imperialism which you have been taught to disrespect and to dislike and to hate, and in its place to put something which will be as good to you as the Soviet Union has allegedly been to its people; and, of course, you study, then, the strategy and tactics, which is a study of how you're going to use these people who aren't convinced by the Communists that the Communists are right, and how you can use them in their own sphere, in the attack on the things they have been taught to disrespect. In doing this you learn how to organize workers toward creating the biggest commotion in order to gain any settlement of the issues that happen to be particular to them.

You learn how to use the groups in religion in this case, how to use the religious people by telling them you're not opposed to religion, that the Communists have nothing against religion as such, but that the leaders of the religion happen to be part and parcel of the imperialism. In this way, if you've prepared them well enough with the lessons on imperialism, you have a basis for their accepting their role among the group of people where they happen to be working in place of their religion; and beginning to influence them toward accepting the dictates of the Communist Party instead of the influences of their own religious training.

Mr. SCHERER. They use the words "neutralize the effect of religion on people"; is that correct?

Mr. DAVIS. If they can't bring them into active cooperation with whatever move you happen to have on at the time, they can be brought then into a neutralized position.

The strategy and tactics is also, of course, telling you where you're going to use the various groups. If you have a little trouble in one section of the country, how you're going to publicize that trouble in order to get support from other parts of the country—when you're going to use them, because naturally at times you want them to keep quiet and at times you want them—well, for example, before Browder was out, you wanted them all to worship Browder; but if you didn't get your Daily Worker early enough next morning, you were still worshipping Browder when you should have been worshipping the guy who came next to him. So, it's very important to use them at the right time and the right place for your objectives.

These refresher courses covered these things, and may have covered other specific aspects of Communist policy; but I don't recall, because they're always taught.

And then, as I said before I started all this, that I was brought up to the capital district by Klein, who was the eastern district organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt there a moment. When did you get out of the Armed Forces?

Mr. DAVIS. In January 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. How soon after that was it that you entered into this plan to accept a position as organizer?

Mr. DAVIS. I believe it was September of the same year.

Mr. TAVENNER. So, that would be in 1946?

Then, I understood you a while ago, I thought, to say it was in 1947; and I want to make certain as to which is correct.

Mr. DAVIS. I am certain it was the same year—about September 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right; that would be 1946.

Mr. DAVIS. Well, Klein brought me up here to the capital district, and he took me over to meet this Evelyn Goldstein, who at that time was the outstanding member of the party in the sense that she allowed herself to be more exposed than any of the other people who were in the party at that time.

And he introduced me to Evelyn, and the three of us discussed the necessity of my meeting such leaders at that time in the party as David Rappaport, who was active in veterans' affairs, and John Wright, who was active in the public workers, and Stella Gold, who was active in the American Labor Party, and also in the party itself, and of Morris Zuckman, who at the time was chairman of the American Labor Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, just a moment. These people whose names you are giving us now were given to you at this first conference you had with Evelyn Goldstein and the organizer, Harold Klein, as leaders whom you should get in touch with?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

You say Morris Zuckman was one of those?

Mr. DAVIS. Morris Zuckman was one of those; yes, sir.

And there was Eli Schwarzbart, who was—

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name, please?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, I knew him as Eli—E-l-i. I believe his full name was Elias, but—

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell the last name?

Mr. DAVIS. I wouldn't know how to spell Schwarzbart any more accurately than you.

There was Michael Dworkin and his wife Jeanette Dworkin, who were active in the party organization.

And there was Gus Cakoulis, who was in the restaurant workers, business agent, I believe for the Albany—no; he wasn't business agent—he was in the restaurant workers; also active in the American Labor Party.

And there were others who were also mentioned, but I don't recall them all; and, subsequently, one way or another, I did meet and talk with these various people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now, after you were given the names of the principal persons that you should see, what did you do in order to see them and to contact them?

Mr. DAVIS. I met most of these people in various ways. I mean, I met them at homes or at meetings, other meetings. I succeeded in meeting them one way or another, one place or another, and we took steps to call a large meeting, and we made a decision in this way, of meeting people, to call a large meeting, including these and also the other active people in the party, in the area, at that time, and—well, specifically putting it down to a meeting, I can't tell you who were at this meeting. I mean, all of these and others were invited, but who might have been absent at the time I certainly don't remember. However if you're interested in the meeting as such, we did discuss there, go over the party organization setup.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, this was a meeting of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do I understand that?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir; it was a meeting of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe the type meeting it was a little more fully?

Mr. DAVIS. I was new here, not known by even the people I had met, except that they had met me; and, in order to become better acquainted with them, in terms of party activity and party organization, it was necessary to have a meeting where we would discuss the policy and the program of the Communist Party as it affected the area here, where I was supposed to work.

Mr. TAVENNER. And, then, this was an area meeting, not of one particular group or cell but of persons from the entire area; is that what I understand you to mean?

Mr. DAVIS. This was a meeting of people who would be primarily interested in taking part in decisions which would constitute the program and the policy of the party as it was carried out here, a meeting to discuss and arrange a program which they could take part in, working out in the particular field where they happened to be active.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you fix the approximate time of the meeting and place?

Mr. DAVIS. No, sir; I can't. It was, I'd say, within 30 days after I came up here—certainly within the same year, 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall where the meeting was held?

Mr. DAVIS. No; I don't. I don't recall it.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Now, I will not interrupt you any further on that. Just tell the committee, please, what occurred at the meeting and all the discussions that took place that you can now recall, and also the names of the persons who took part in it.

Mr. DAVIS. Well, the main point of the meeting was evolved to be a discussion of setting up certain groups in the area, using the people we had to lead and to carry on the work of these groups.

We decided first the railroad group, because the railroad in Albany is a very important, a very vital, industry and aside from Al Kolker, who worked in the railroad yards, we had no influence within the railroad section of the workers in this area.

It was, from the national down to the local level a concentration point, and a point of major importance. Where there were railroad

workers in any number, the party must make one of its main efforts that of establishing its influence or broadening its influence among the railroad workers; and, so, one of the groups that we decided to set up at the meeting was a railroad group. None of the others held the importance of the railroad group, because here was something which we had nothing of and which—in order to be any real influence in local politics, or run any real issues, in order to have any real influence on affairs as they would develop in the area, we must have an influence among the railroad workers.

So, the railroad group was one of those set up, and other groups. General policy is also to have neighborhood groups, and we set up a south-end group and an Arbor Hill group, and then we had—

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by South End and Arbor Hill?

Mr. DAVIS. These are two neighborhood sections in the city of Albany, and we set up groups of people who didn't live in these areas because we didn't have very many people living in these areas, if we had any, and it was necessary to—I mean, as a general policy, not as a concentration—but as a general policy to establish some type of recognition at least in the neighborhoods; and, so, we set up these groups and, in order to set them up, not have any people there, we had to draw on the members who—well, primarily, we drew on our State workers because the State workers were the primary body of the party. There were not too many people at the time who were very active and could be relied upon to even attempt to carry out a policy who were not at the same time State workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you say the State workers were the primary group of the party. Will you explain further what you mean by them?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, when I came here, the party was composed of a certain number of people. Among these people, there was a bloc of members who were also State workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is, employed by the government of the State of New York?

Mr. DAVIS. Employed by the State of New York; yes.

So, this was the primary group that you had. So, in order to carry on work, whether it was in railroad or whether it was in neighborhood work, or special work, it was necessary to use this group of people that were here, and this in turn meant that your State workers were the backbone of the party in Albany at the time. Their importance not being that they were State workers, because to my knowledge we never had any State workers whose position as influencing the policy of State government was of any significance, but their importance to the party was as members to spread the general influence of the party in terms of the specific groups and neighborhoods where we would want to work.

Mr. TAVENNER. And it was because of the function that the State employees played in the conduct of the affairs of the party here in Albany that you have designated them the backbone of the party?

Mr. DAVIS. Because of their numbers and their activity relative to the activity of the non-State workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did those persons perform the functions of leadership in these various Communist groups?

Mr. DAVIS. Many of them did. Leadership was changed often, and it was changed from group to group often. I mean, if you're getting

at whether I remember any of the State workers who were also leaders of groups at any specific time? I can't say that I do. They were the members who were assigned to develop the various groups and, as such, they—as a body, they took leadership roles in the various groups of the party; but insofar as which individuals among them at any particular time held the offices in a particular group, I have no recollection.

MR. TAVENNER. You used the term that some of these State workers were transferred from one group to another. Did I understand you to say that?

MR. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

MR. TAVENNER. What was the purpose in transferring then from one group to another?

MR. DAVIS. In the first place, if one group needed more assistance in the work they were doing because of its role or because of its importance you would need extra people—and in order to get extra people you would have to take the people you had and draw them from other groups.

MR. TAVENNER. What would have been the situation of the party here during the period you were organizer if you had not had the benefit of the services of the group you have spoken of as the State workers?

MR. DAVIS. In terms of numbers to work with, the situation would be one of, you might call, breaking the ice; you would have had almost nothing.

MR. TAVENNER. In other words, without that group, you would have had to begin practically at the bottom in working up the organization of the Communist Party in this area?

MR. DAVIS. Yes.

MR. TAVENNER. Is that what you are attempting to say?

MR. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

MR. TAVENNER. We have digressed from our original purpose here to state who attended this first meeting and what was the business that was transacted at this first meeting which you called after being here probably less than 30 days.

MR. DAVIS. Well, the main work of the meeting was to organize these groups and to set them up and lay them down where they were going to work.

MR. SCHERER. I believe you said that you were instructed to meet Morris Zuckman because of his connection with the American Labor Party. Am I correct that that was your testimony a few minutes ago?

MR. DAVIS. My testimony was that Morris Zuckman's name was among those I was to meet as members of the party up here.

MR. SCHERER. In other words, members of the Communist Party?

MR. DAVIS. Yes, sir; members of the Communist Party, who it was necessary to consult with in order to do work up here, as it was necessary to consult with these others as they were the leadership of the party up here at the time and acquainted with the local affairs.

MR. SCHERER. Didn't I understand you were to meet Zuckman because of his particular connection with the American Labor Party, because of his influence in the American Labor Party?

MR. DAVIS. Zuckman's particular work was in the American Labor Party.

Mr. SCHERER. That is what I understand.

Mr. DAVIS. His particular work was there, but my instructions to meet him was because he was a Communist Party worker in the Labor Party.

Mr. SCHERER. A Communist Party worker, but a Communist Party worker in the American Labor Party?

Mr. DAVIS. His main work was in the American Labor Party.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, Mr. Counsel, at this time, I think, in view of the testimony of this witness, particularly in relation to Zuckman, who appeared here yesterday and refused to answer the question as to whether he was a Communist on the grounds his answer might incriminate him, I would like to read from a circular that has been distributed in this area by the capital district of the American Labor Party, with which Zuckman was identified at least at the time this witness came to the Albany area. It is a rather lengthy document, but I think some of the excerpts therefrom are worth noting in the record at this time:

Right now American democracy is facing its greatest threat—the threat of the handful—

referring to this committee—

who would crush all of those who disagree with them; the threat of the handful who would smear everyone who defends the rights of the people to fight for a better life; the threat of McCarthyism.

It goes on to say:

For us in upstate New York the threat is immediate because within the next few days—on July 13, to be exact—the House Un-American Activities Committee is slated to open hearings in Albany. This committee was the forerunner of the all-out McCarthyite attack in this country. For 15 years now it has smeared everyone who dared speak out for the rights of labor, the Negro people, peace, and social welfare.

This committee is headed by Harold Velde, of New York—

He is from Illinois—

bitter foe of organized labor, and the man who made the indecent proposal to destroy the religious freedom of Americans by investigating churches.

The main target of the attack in Albany appears to be the American Labor Party.

The circular goes on.

In a sense, we of the ALP are proud that we are being singled out in this manner because we know that this is an indirect tribute to our fight for peace and the welfare of the people.

We don't believe that this attack will succeed because we see more and more Americans being aroused to fighting anger by the activities of the un-American witch hunters. Clergymen, labor leaders, cultural and political leaders—men and women in all walks of life—are demanding a halt to these attacks. Such outstanding Americans as Albert Einstein, Bishop Oxnham, Eleanor Roosevelt, Senator Herbert Lehman, and many others have urged that the un-Americans be stopped before they destroy our American heritage.

I am just going to pose this question for those who have sat here in the last few days and the press—whether or not, from what you have seen and from what you have heard, especially from the testimony of Pat Walsh, the Canadian, on your first day here, these charges bear any semblance whatsoever of the truth.

That is all I have to say at this time.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were telling us about this meeting that took place and I believe we were at the point where you were going to state

just what occurred in the course of the meeting. You did describe some of the things that occurred as to the organizational plan. I assume at this meeting you met all of those present personally, didn't you?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir; all of those present I met personally.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us at this time the names of all those who were present that you can now recall?

Mr. DAVIS. I mentioned some people a while back that I met when I first came up here. Do you wish me to repeat those now?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; I think you should give us the names of all who attended this initial meeting which took on the character of an organizational meeting.

Mr. DAVIS. And then something else—I can give you the names of the people who were asked, as many as I can who were asked, to this meeting. I mean, I can't recall now whether or not there might have been some absent at that time, who didn't actually attend the meeting but who were asked because it was necessary to include them in the decisions of the Communist Party in the area.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you should confine your testimony on this point to those that you can recall who actually attended.

Mr. DAVIS. Well, on this point—this happened 6 years ago, and to actually say that these people were there, I can't. I'll state somebody who might have been a most important person at the meeting, who might have been sick that day, and out, something I would have forgotten.

In drawing up the attendance or the meeting, we wanted to include the people who it was necessary to include on any decisions of Communist Party activities in this area, and in this capacity we asked them to come to the meeting. It is not fair to me to say at this time definitely I will state this and these people were here, because any one of them at the time might have been absent, and at this time I might have the impression they were not absent.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you are uncertain in your mind as to who was present and who was not, I don't want to ask you to answer the question. At the same time, I do not believe it is fair to the individuals there to put it on the basis of showing they were invited to this meeting, because they may not have accepted. I think it means the same thing.

You have already told us the names of those that you were directed to see by the organizational leader of the party here, Harold Klein, and if after this lapse of time you are uncertain as to who was present at this meeting and who was not, you will just not be able to answer the question; but I would like you to concentrate on it and see if you can recall definitely and with certainty in your own mind the name of any person who did attend. For instance, if you can recall any conversation that you had on that occasion with any one individual, that might help to refresh your recollection as to whether or not that individual was there, of course, or any other things that occurred that might refresh your recollection.

Mr. DAVIS. Usually at these meetings we had a program laid down, if they were any size at all. It was just about all you could do to run through it, take your decisions and leave; but we had, contrary to this usual procedure—I mean, the only individuals that were con-

stantly interested in private discussions, in meetings where I met them, were Morris Zuckman and this Eli Schwarzbart. I mean, almost from the time I came up here, especially Eli let me know that I better be careful of any action I took without consulting him, because there might be some misunderstanding, and that some of the others who were in the party didn't go along with him in his thinking always; and, as a result, there might be conflict. In order to avoid this conflict, I should be very careful of doing anything in essence that he didn't approve of; and this—while I can't place such a discussion at this particular meeting, we had such discussions. I was called on the phone and two of them took me out for a car ride at one time, to tell me how it was necessary to do things their way, and which at the time I felt was contrary to the decisions that had already been taken locally to do otherwise.

So, otherwise, our meetings were run pretty much with a program, and with looking for decisions and taking the decisions that we took, without any special individual discussions as to the advisability of carrying out these decisions.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say this conversation you had with Schwarzbart, which you have described took place at a meeting, but you could not tell whether it was this meeting or some other meeting—

Mr. DAVIS. At several meetings—I mean where we would be discussing particular American labor policy, but also other aspects of party work, such as work among the Negro people, and these questions particularly—I mean, the most outstanding one I remember is this automobile ride, where I was called up and two of them made me understand that I was working contrary to their wishes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the other person that was involved in the decision that you were acting contrary to their purposes?

Mr. DAVIS. In the case of the American Labor Party, the decisions had been taken by the Communist leadership in the area, as a unit.

Mr. TAVENNER. That will become a little involved probably to explain, and I think possibly you should wait until after the recess to go into that, because at this time—

Mr. DAVIS. On the other hand, these discussions bear an important part in my breaking with the Communist Party, because I mean until this time, along with my being in the party, I had assumed that the power the party was seeking was not the end, but was a means to an end; and in working—the objection I had to Zuckman's method of work—it was a method of one-man leadership, and it seemed to me was an issue between power for power's sake in the end itself, or power for this end of helping the working class, and so forth, and this difference between us was actually that he was attacking my comfortable illusions and my reasons for being in the party; and if it turned out that the party locally couldn't make a democratic decision on a local issue and have the decision carried out, without having it reversed by a one-man control, who was supposed to be, according to our lines, under the discipline of our party, then I had gone off somewhere.

Mr. SCHERER. You mean that Zuckman had a different idea of leadership of the people than you had?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, the results of Zuckman's work resulted in one-man leadership and actually working actively to keep some of the other party members out of that leadership.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, his idea was certainly different from the leadership you expressed earlier in your testimony. Yours was more of an idealism.

Mr. DAVIS. Well, this was a test to me, which type of leadership in practice was being looked for; and, so, even though you say it's an involved situation, it's this particular aspect of it that does bear an important part because, as it developed, it came to a test of whether you were seeking to hold power because you wanted power, and what you were going to do with it was your own business and nobody could tell you what you were going to do about it, or whether you were seeking power to bring about something better than what you had.

Mr. SCHERER. That is what I just said. His idea of leadership in the party was entirely different than your idea of leadership.

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think it would be well for us to understand what connection there was, if any, between your group and the Communist Party here and the American Labor Party, as it was being conducted at that time.

Mr. DAVIS. Locally, the American Labor Party at that time was Morris Zuckman, and the party was supposed to have full influence and control over his actions. The party's decisions for the American Labor Party at that time were of a democratic nature. They wanted to broaden it, because it's very important to use this democratic principle of broadening the base of your parties, other than the Communist Party, because in this way you draw other people in, and there's nothing to be lost for the Communist Party in gaining something for an element of the population through using the American Labor Party. It can only result in the party gaining influence, and whatever is gained is certainly going to do the people some good, and certainly going to increase the Communist Party's influence among those people, so they can begin pushing in with their teachings of imperialism and their teachings of the great things the Soviet Union has done, and the possibility that it could happen here, and that if it did happen the Communists would be there to show them how to do it.

It was also making them lean toward the Communists as their leaders, so that on a quick issue lots of people could be brought down to follow them.

An example of this is when Paul Robeson was brought to Albany and denied the use of Philip Livingston High School. Well, by working on democratic principles, where they were, in order to influence the people, there were general, genuine changes which should take place in their organization. The influence was such that a body of people outnumbering the Communist Party, and what we thought was the Communist Party influence, were brought together in protests to bring Robeson to Albany to sing in the Livingston High School.

Whether it is argued right or wrong, this was an indication of how you can, on a specific issue, at a certain time, arouse a tremendous number of people if you have gained just this little bit of control over them through your past work.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, if I understand it correctly, you state that Morris Zuckman was practically the American Labor Party at the

time you were organizer here and that it was the purpose of the Communist Party to direct him as to what he should do as the head of that party; am I correct in that?

Mr. DAVIS. One of them; yes, sir. That was one of the purposes.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was one of the purposes?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

(Representative Bernard W. Kearney returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, how did the Communist Party go about accomplishing that single purpose?

Mr. DAVIS. By calling them to a meeting and talking to them.

But then again, when you say something like that, you go over the heads of the local party organization in this respect: What the American Labor Party, being a statewide organization, was trying to do at that time, as I said, was to broaden and try to influence more people by a narrower program—maybe leaving out some of the more radical proposals to bring in a larger group of people on a narrower program. So, it's not necessary for the local party leader really to direct the local American Labor Party man as to exactly what he should do or how he should go about it, because the policy is laid down and published in a statewide basis. It's only necessary that if items that the local organization isn't sufficiently carrying out these directives that are published in the Daily Worker, or even American Labor Party, you can read out of most of the papers that exist in the area. If you're not making progress, then you would call in the people who were active in the American Labor Party and discuss with them why this was not making the progress it should, and what changes should be made in order to make this progress.

In reference to this situation, this was done and the decision and the policy on a statewide basis of broadening the base of the American Labor Party was reasserted, and we were directed then by the State representative who at the time was here.

Mr. TAVENNER. State representative of what?

Mr. DAVIS. Of the Communist Party.

Leading the discussions was Simon Gerson.

Mr. TAVENNER. You indicated in your testimony that some difficulty arose with Mr. Zuckman regarding the conduct of the affairs of the American Labor Party. Were those matters discussed and any action taken regarding them by the Communist Party here locally?

Mr. DAVIS. Locally, the Communist Party took a decision to remove Morris Zuckman as the head of the American Labor Party. We found it impossible to carry this decision out, due to the fact that—

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now, just a moment. Will you give us a little more detail as to how the decision was taken to remove him as head of the American Labor Party?

Mr. DAVIS. At the meeting, where this decision was taken, we left the meeting after the decision to remove him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us about the meeting. Who attended the meeting and took part in the decision?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, here again if one of those meetings when one of those asked may have not been at the meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the name of any person who took part in the decision?

Mr. DAVIS. The meeting was held at Evelyn Goldstein's house, and Evelyn Goldstein was there, and so was her husband, Nathan Goldstein, who was an upholstery worker—not the attorney general.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Nathan Goldstein, the husband of Evelyn Goldstein, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes; he was.

Also at the meeting—Zuckman was present at the meeting, and Schwarzbart was at the meeting, and also——

Mr. TAVENNER. And was this a Communist Party meeting?

Mr. DAVIS. This was a Communist Party meeting; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is Mr. Zuckman's first name?

I want to be certain we are identifying the proper individual each time.

Mr. DAVIS. Morris Zuckman.

Mr. TAVENNER. What decision was reached at this meeting?

Mr. DAVIS. Prior to the meeting, I had a discussion with Klein in reference to this matter.

Mr. TAVENNER. What Klein?

Mr. DAVIS. Harold Klein. He was the district organizer, northeastern district, and he had been in complete agreement that the resolution, which I drew up, calling for replacing Morris Zuckman in the Communist Party was all right.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say replacing him in the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. Replacing him as the leader of the American Labor Party. That's what I meant to say.

At the meeting the resolution was passed.

After the meeting Harold Klein and myself were called to New York City and told that it was off, and the State apparatus had a great deal of respect and admiration for Mr. Zuckman. This resulted from a phone call, which I can't place in time, but the phone call to New York by Schwarzbart, to be down there in the State leadership—and, as a result, we were called down and told that Zuckman must stay, and it was accepted, though not liked too well by the membership, and Zuckman remained.

Mr. TAVENNER. The group that made the final decision was on the State level of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. On the State level that decision was made.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell us who actually made that decision in New York?

Mr. DAVIS. I cannot. It was handed to us by Simon Gerson, the State legislative director, but who took the decision I wouldn't know.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that clear, Mr. Counsel, that the decision was made by the Communist Party at the State level, am I correct in that?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is what I was attempting to determine, and be clear upon, and I have——

Mr. SCHERER. Whether Zuckman should stay as the local head of the American Labor Party; is that right?

Mr. DAVIS. That's correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And did he stay?

Mr. DAVIS. He stayed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I expect this is an appropriate place to make a break.

Mr. KEARNEY. The committee will be in recess for 5 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 11:59 a. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 12:04 p. m.)

(The hearing reconvened at 12:12 p. m., the committee member being present: Representative Gordon H. Scherer.)

Mr. SCHERER (presiding). The committee will be in order.

You may proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Davis, you stated in the earlier part of your testimony that at the time of your organizational meeting, soon after your arrival in Albany, that a great deal of stress was placed upon work in the railroad group. Was this matter the subject of any conferences between you and the State leadership of the Communist Party after that meeting?

Mr. DAVIS. The railroad concentration was a State and national policy of the party before I came up here and continued to be after I left.

The State apparatus of the party had a special railroad commission, with whose head I discussed railroad affairs in Albany. I don't recall the name of this head of the railroad commission. However, he had thorough knowledge of the progress of work among railroad workers in all parts of the country. His commission published a monthly periodical called The Link, and this paper was a collection of data of work among railroad workers throughout the country. It was conditions of railroad workers, reprints from railroad union papers and, of course, editorials on the issues that the commission felt were facing the railroad workers. Primarily with this as our guide, with the discussions with the commission head and with the use of The Link in form of distribution, we carried on the railroad work.

As I stated earlier, the only individual we had in railroad work to give us personal contact with the railroad workers was Al Kolker, and he was to head up the railroad work as it progressed.

The work consisted of a regular distribution of the Link, as we received copies of it every month from the State office, a few leaflets which we made up on our own, discussing things that the Link touched on, survey of the railroad workers in terms of numbers and of affiliations, and an attempt to find issues which we could bring to them of direct concern to them, working conditions.

We worked consistently with the distributions. We also sent letters out to railroad union leaders in the area, with a completely negative response in that instance.

I believe it's accurate to say we had, up until the time I left, made no progress to speak of in creating any interest, much less influence, among the railroad workers. The distributions were received in the very beginning quietly, later with a mixture of dissent and quiet from the rest, and this situation existed through most of the distributions.

There was never any effort made to prevent our distributing this material, even though it was distributed actually on railroad property. If they had wanted to take action directly, they could have insisted we get off because we were just barely on railroad property.

I have no doubt that had our influence become established to any degree at all the railroad unions would have taken a more active attitude of opposition toward our work.

However, the work continued as work of attempting to penetrate and make some break in the ranks of the railroad workers with our material. It was done consistently because of its importance in Albany. I think it's safe to say the railroad workers constitute the backbone of any real influence that could be established in Albany. Influence among the railroad workers would immediately give you influence in local politics, as well as the influence you would gain through having a number of workers in an important industry. In numbers, and in also the type of industry, being transportation, railroad workers were of such importance that the work had to be done as a special effort.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you have a conference with the head of the railroad commission of the Communist Party in New York on more than one occasion regarding the importance of this phase of your work here?

MR. DAVIS. I had several conferences with the head of the commission, reviewing the work we had attempted to do, and it was usually a recommendation to continue, watching for the break; and after a time he did push toward calling a meeting of railroad workers, not as the Communist Party, but a meeting to be called by—I believe it was the Railroad Unity Committee, which was the party organization used to influence railroad workers without doing it openly as the Communist Party.

This meeting was to take place in the Railroad Hall, in uptown Albany, and was to be called to discuss the conditions and situations existing in the railroad here. A speaker was sent by the commission to conduct this meeting. I was not supposed to put in an appearance, and Kolker was supposed to be the mainspring in developing attendance for the meeting. The meeting was a little premature and pretty much a complete flop. I received information that a handful of railroad workers did show up, whose identification we couldn't even get for our own use because Kolker didn't show up at that meeting.

MR. TAVENNER. Who was the speaker of the occasion?

MR. DAVIS. I can't remember who. It was a member from the commission sent by the commission.

MR. TAVENNER. It was a member of the Communist Party sent here by the railroad commission of the Communist Party?

MR. DAVIS. That is correct.

MR. TAVENNER. After you perfected your organizational plans, was there an established executive committee, or some other group, which headed the organizational work of the party in this area?

MR. DAVIS. We had a committee variously known as the city committee, section committee or the county committee—most generally known, I would say, as the section committee, composed of people in leadership positions who were supposed to make the Communist decisions for the area.

MR. TAVENNER. I am not certain whether you have already stated or not for how long a period of time you were the organizer in this area.

MR. DAVIS. I would say just about 1 year, that is, until maybe September of 1947.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, who were members of your city committee or county committee, as you may term it,

during the period you were the organizer for the Communist Party in this area?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, that gets me back to specific people and specific places, but I have a list of names of people who I remember and the people who I remember in most cases of having meetings with, at some time, at some place, during my stay here, in reference to party work, among these people would be those who were also on the leading committees of the party and who led the groups; but the specific question—to place these people definitely at a time and at a place—is something—there were meetings every day, 2, 3 meetings a day, every day and night, and there were meetings thrown together to such an extent it was impossible—

Mr. TAVENNER. You would not like to attempt to designate those who were members of your county committee during that period; do I understand?

Mr. DAVIS. I can some of them, yes, in terms of being members, not attending any specific meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; I am not speaking of any particular meeting. I am speaking of the position of membership on that committee.

Mr. DAVIS. Well, in that case, we had Leo Shapiro. That's Leo, I understand, Shapiro—S-h-a-p-i-r-o, who was a leading member and whose activity was primarily in the party itself—party organizational work.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how he was employed?

Mr. DAVIS. He was a State worker.

Mr. SCHERER. Was he employed by the State of New York?

Mr. DAVIS. He was employed by the State of New York.

Mr. SCHERER. In what capacity?

Mr. DAVIS. I couldn't say.

John Wright was active in the Public Workers' Union—I believe it was—CIO, and he was also a member of our leading committees.

And David Rappaport.

Mr. SCHERER. Let's go back to John Wright. You say he was active in the Public Workers' Union. Was he employed by any agency of Government?

Mr. DAVIS. He was employed by the New York State.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know in what capacity he was employed?

Mr. DAVIS. No.

There was David Rappaport. His activity was mainly centered in the veterans' work of the American Veterans' Committee. He was employed by the State of New York.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know in what capacity?

Mr. DAVIS. No; I do not.

Rena Dodd, who was employed by the State of New York, and Betty Laros—L-a-r-o-s—also a State worker.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know in what capacity either of these two were employed?

Mr. DAVIS. I don't know.

Mr. SCHERER. If you do know, will you so state so I don't have to ask you a question?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. When you come to a State employee, will you designate in what department they were employed, if you know?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you there a moment. Were all these persons whose names you have given us up to this point members of this county or city committee?

Mr. DAVIS. They were all members; yes.

Stella Gold, who was a housewife, whose activity was centered in the American Labor Party.

Sarah Kaufman, a housewife. I can't recall any particular activity. She was active in the American Labor Party.

There is William Bottcher. He was active——

Mr. SCHERER. How do you spell that?

Mr. DAVIS. B-o-t-t-c-h-e-r.

Mr. SCHERER. You were going to say he was active, and then I interrupted you.

Mr. DAVIS. He was active in internal party affairs, organizational work, and he worked for the State of New York.

Sam Evens, he was the finance secretary of the Communist Party in the area, and also employed by the State of New York.

There was Morris Zuckman, who was the American Labor Party activity.

Alexander Kolker, who I've already mentioned as being the railroad activity.

There's Michael Dworkin, and his wife, Jeanette.

Mr. SCHERER. How do you spell that last name?

Mr. DAVIS. D-w-o-r-k-i-n.

Their activity was largely in the Communist Party itself, in organizational work. He was also active in the American Veterans' Committee work.

Mr. SCHERER. What did Dworkin do for a living?

Mr. DAVIS. He was employed for a time by the State of New York.

Janet Scott, who was employed by Knickerbocker News. Her activity was largely in the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People.

And I think that about covers those. There were probably others on the body from time to time, but——

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you at this point a question about a group of Communist Party members within the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union. We have heard testimony here that there was a very active cell within that union, which virtually disbanded in 1940 as a result of a defeat in an election that was held then. In 1946 and 1947, when you were the organizer, did you make an effort to revive that group within that union?

Mr. DAVIS. One of the pieces of work which I was given to do was in the form of 5 or 6 names of people who had been active in the restaurant workers and who had been members of the Communist Party, and I was directed to round them up and put the hotel and restaurant workers Communist Party group back in operation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who gave you those directions?

Mr. DAVIS. These came from Harold Klein. First, to get hold of these people, I went to see Kostas Dakchoylous, who was business agent at that time of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' local here in Albany. He gave me information concerning the finding of these individuals and, over a period of time, I contacted them, and we called meetings which were poorly attended; but we managed to dis-

tribute some literature, make some financial collections, and discuss the revival of activity of these individuals in the Communist Party here.

Now, there was George Stathis. I believe he was—well, I can't say for certain whether it was bartender or waiter capacity—his employment—but, however, he was connected with the group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he pay dues to you as a member of that group?

Mr. DAVIS. Over a period of time, as we managed to get these individuals to meetings, they remained Communists in the sense that they attended and were paid up and in good standing.

Kostas Dakchoylous and there was a Gus Cakoulis. I can't spell that name.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the position he held at that time that would suffice to give identifying knowledge?

Mr. DAVIS. You mean Cakoulis.

He belonged to the Restaurant Workers Union and worked somewhere in one of their shops that they had, and he was also active in the American Labor Party.

And of the 5 or 6 that were in the group, I don't remember any of the others.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the person who assisted you in locating the addresses of these prospective members?

Mr. DAVIS. Kostas Dakchoylous, business agent.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you spell that, if you know?

Mr. DAVIS. D-a-k-c-h-o-y-l-o-u-s.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he pay any money to you as dues in the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. While we were very unsuccessful in getting him to take any active part, he was a paid-up member of the Communist Party, but we couldn't get him to take an active part.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time tender him a Communist Party card?

Mr. DAVIS. No; I did not. He wanted me to keep his card. I had a card made out for him, but he thought I better keep it.

Mr. TAVENNER. He didn't accept his card?

Mr. DAVIS. He would not accept the card.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did he say to you when you offered to give him the card?

Mr. DAVIS. You must realize in the position I was in, their having been out of activity and then just coming back, it wasn't a too important item with me. So I didn't push it. It can pass over very easily—that if he doesn't want the card, I can assume I will keep it and at a later date he will accept it.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time you offered to give him the card, did he pay you any money?

Mr. DAVIS. He gave me enough money to keep himself paid up in dues.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall now why he said he wanted you to keep the card, if he said anything at all about it?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, I think he was cautious and he didn't want to have a card, as a lot of other party members also didn't want to have cards, but they took them. But I believe he was just being cautious. He felt if he didn't have a card he couldn't very well be called a card-carrying party member.

Mr. TAVENNER. What I am trying to find out is just what the exact language was, as near as you can recall, as to what he said when you—

Mr. DAVIS. He said he didn't want the card, that I should keep it. He told me to keep the card for him.

Mr. SCHERER. Did he explain to you why he wanted you to keep the card?

Mr. DAVIS. He did not. I would not press such a question at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give to the committee, please, the names of all the persons that you have not already given to the committee whom you knew to be members of the Communist Party during the period of time that you were organizer in the city of Albany; and, in doing so, give as much descriptive information about the individual as you can and as much explanation of their party affiliation as you can?

Mr. DAVIS. Hannah Shapiro.

Mr. TAVENNER. And I think you should spell the name where the name has not been mentioned.

Mr. DAVIS. Hannah Shapiro was the wife of Leo Shapiro, and was a housewife, active in party affairs; also conducted a dramatic group on her own—no connection with the party, direct organizational connection.

Irving Gold, a State worker; you have Stella Gold—her husband, active mainly in interparty educational activity, insofar as he conducted a very good discussion—could lead a discussion.

We had Evelyn Weinstein, who was brought in shortly before I left. I understand she didn't stay too long. While she was in, she was not active at all.

There was Dr. Louis Lubin, who was a dentist, and also not active.

Mr. SCHERER. How do you spell the doctor's name?

Mr. DAVIS. L-u-b-i-n; Louis—L-o-u-i-s.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell us what group of the Communist Party he was a member of?

Mr. DAVIS. He was a member of the professional group.

Charles Dorenz, who was a painter—a member—not active; not assigned to any organization.

Joe and his wife, Amalia, Crago—C-r-a-g-o.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was her maiden name Pesko?

Mr. DAVIS. I don't know. When I came up here, they were known as Cucchiara—Cucchiara, Cook for short; but the name was changed to Crago when I was here. The other name I don't recognize.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell her first name?

Mr. DAVIS. A-m-a-l-i-a.

They were active in general party work.

Louis Geller, who was employed at that time by General Electric, also active in the Communist Party affairs; helped out in American Labor Party work. His wife, Hilda Geller.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that the witness we had on the stand here yesterday?

Mr. DAVIS. The name is the same.

Mr. SCHERER. I mean I assume it is the same. I am asking counsel. Do you know?

Mr. TAVENNER. All I can say is the name is the same.

Mr. SCHERER. Did he work with General Electric?

Mr. DAVIS. He worked at General Electric at that time.

Mr. SCHERER. Didn't Geller testify he worked for General Electric?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. What did you say Geller's wife's name was?

Mr. DAVIS. Hilda Geller.

Mr. SCHERER. She was a member of the party, too?

Mr. DAVIS. She was.

Anna Brickman, housewife, and not too active; paid up and attended meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name, please?

Mr. DAVIS. B-r-i-c-k-m-a-n.

Sidney and Harriet Belinky.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name?

Mr. DAVIS. B-e-l-i-n-k-y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give more identifying information regarding him, as to the occupation and so forth, which may throw some light on his identity?

Mr. DAVIS. I believe he was connected with a laundry in Albany, and his wife was not working, I believe. He was generally active—no specific assignment.

John Poziomek—P-o-z-i-o-m-e-k. He was a barber, not active.

Nathan Goldstein, the husband of Evelyn Goldstein, who had the upholstery business in Albany, not too active.

Robert Arnold, who worked for the United States Weather Bureau. He was very active in a sense of distributing leaflets. I think he was about the only one that distributed leaflets with me at the railroad yards.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Evelyn Goldstein by any other name than that which you have given?

Mr. DAVIS. Evelyn Goldstein's mother was Minnie Minsky, and she was also a member. So, I knew her maiden name was Minsky.

There were Harry Gordon, employed by the United States Weather Bureau, not too active, and his wife, who I only knew as Mike Gordon.

There were Ralph and Flo Cohen—C-o-h-e-n—I don't know where he worked, and he was not active. I didn't see too much of him.

There was Don Hatchigan, an industrial worker; lived in Troy.

Nick Campas, business agent for the hotel-restaurant workers in Troy at that time.

I. Nathan Sidman, who was in the leadership role in the Roy-Rensselaer County American Labor Party. His specific post I don't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with the wife of David Rappaport?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes; I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. I wouldn't know definitely. I mean, I wouldn't remember her.

Mr. SCHERER. You named David Rappaport earlier in your testimony as being a member of the city or county committee during the time you were organizer.

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Counsel, a little while ago I read this circular that has been distributed in and about the Albany area, which was distributed by the Capital District American Labor Party, 80 Westerlo Street, Albany, N. Y.

Since that time I have been informed that the Capital District American Labor Party is a splinter of the American Labor Party here in Albany, and I wish to state that we have had reliable information come to the committee that David Rappaport's wife was one who distributed this circular in and about Albany in the last week.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated in an earlier part of your testimony that the persons referred to by you as the State workers were divided up and assigned to various groups. Was there any one group of the Communist Party to which more were assigned than another?

Mr. DAVIS. When these people were assigned to a different group, they were assigned to leadership in the group.

Therefore, making them in the other groups primarily in a leadership capacity; but the bulk of them were in the professional group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give me the names of any that you can recall who were members of the professional group, other than the State workers generally?

You have named a dentist as one.

Mr. DAVIS. Well, he was a member of this professional group.

Morris Zuckman was a member of the professional group.

I think that's all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall at this time who took the leadership in the professional group?

Mr. DAVIS. It was a changing leadership. You couldn't put any individual—

Mr. TAVENNER. You have stated you left the position of organizer of the Communist Party, I think, in the fall of 1947. Did you continue your membership in the Communist Party after terminating your position as organizer?

Mr. DAVIS. The Communist Party has a constitution, and it states that after so many days or weeks after you fail to be paid up in dues you're no longer a member. I took no steps to send any official letters of resignation because such letters would not be discontinuing the membership, but prolonging the membership, in my opinion. I wanted to break the contact; and, so—

Mr. SCHERER. Why would such letters continue rather than discontinue the membership?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, specifically because I would have to write it and do one more thing—and mail it to New York—as a member of the Communist Party, whereas if I wanted to break completely and just leave the Communist Party, I would be, in my mind, out of it, and for example, after I had been out this period of time, the new organizer, whose first name I never did know, came to see me and told me they were going to expel me from the Communist Party, and that I was an enemy of the working class and, oh, he gave me the same type of going over that I knew they would give anybody who they wanted to try to urge to remain in, and said I should take some activity on a lower scale; and I told him that I considered myself out of the Communist Party and if they wanted to go ahead and expel me at that date, it was entirely their business.

Mr. SCHERER. About when did that conversation which you have just related take place?

Mr. DAVIS. Before—before the end of the year.

Mr. SCHERER. What year?

Mr. DAVIS. 1947.

I didn't just walk out of the party. I mean, when I came to, it was the year after the first disagreement between Zuckman and myself; and, for the second year's campaign and for the second year's work I insisted if I were to remain in the party that Zuckman would have to be removed from taking a top part in the work that was done around the election campaign of that year, in terms of making the decisions for the American Labor Party, and I made a proposition which was taken to the district committee, represented by Harold Klein, that if this could not be done I could no longer serve the working class. They would have to find somebody who could conform to their demands for conforming to Zuckman's leadership, and that I would drop out. This was not accepted by Klein, and I brought it to a section meeting of the party here, and along with it my resignation from the position of organizer for the party, and this was passed by the body.

Mr. SCHERER. You named, I believe, two persons who were employed by the United States Government. I believe you said they were connected with the Weather Bureau. Do you know whether they are still employed by the Federal Government?

Mr. DAVIS. I do not; no, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, our investigation shows they are not so employed at this time.

Did you return to the Communist Party at any later date?

Mr. DAVIS. I did not; no, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there any further comment you desire to make regarding the severance of your connections with the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. I don't think so, sir. I have no comment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any effort made at a later date to have you return to the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. I've already mentioned that Si¹ contacted me twice in such an effort. Nothing after that.

Mr. TAVENNER. A person by the name of Si?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he the organizer that succeeded you?

Mr. DAVIS. He represented himself to me as the new organizer for the Communist Party in this area.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you seen him in and about Albany since that time?

Mr. DAVIS. I wouldn't recognize him. I saw him twice. He talked to me while he was driving me to work here in Albany.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know who the organizer is in and about Albany today?

Mr. DAVIS. I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the name of the organizer has already been mentioned in the course of the testimony of Mr. Campas.

Mr. SCHERER. What was that name?

I have a hard time keeping track of all these names.

¹ Reference to Si Fialkoff.

Mr. TAVENNER. Fialkoff. F-i-a-l-k-o-f-f is my recollection of the spelling.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you have any more questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. I think that is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Davis, the committee wishes to thank you for your excellent testimony. We think you have contributed valuable information to your country and, with this thanks, you are discharged from your subpoena.

The committee will recess until 2:15 p. m. today.

(Whereupon, at 1 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 2:15 p. m., of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(At the hour of 2:18 p. m., of the same day, the proceedings were resumed, the following committee members being present: Representatives Bernard W. Kearney (chairman of the subcommittee) and Gordon H. Scherer.)

Mr. KEARNEY. The committee will be in order.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call Mr. Elias M. Schwarzbart.

Mr. Schwarzbart, will you come forward, please?

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I do, sir.

TESTIMONY OF ELIAS M. SCHWARZBART, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, RAPHAEL H. WEISSMAN

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Elias M. Schwarzbart.

May I request, Mr. Chairman, that this broadcast mouthpiece be removed?

Mr. KEARNEY. Your request is granted, and there will be no broadcast.

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Thank you, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I am, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. WEISSMAN. My name is Raphael H. Weissman—W-e-i-s-s-m-a-n. My office is at 185 Montague Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Schwarzbart?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I was born in New York City, February 19, 1907.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you are an attorney by profession?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I am, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your formal educational training has been?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I was educated in the schools of New York City, graduated from Dewitt Clinton High School, in New York in 1923; received a scholarship to Cornell University, and from Cornell I went to Brooklyn Law School, St. John's Law School, where I received my degree of LL. B. I was admitted to the bar in November 1931.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Schwarzbart, you appear here pursuant to a subpoena served upon you, I believe?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine this subpoena, please, and state when and where it was served upon you, from the return appearing on the back?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Yes, sir. This is a second subpoena. It was served on me on May 14 of this year by Mr. Fuoss. Mr. Andrews, I think, also accompanied him at that time. It was served on me in the senate chamber of the State capital.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date on which it was served? May 14, I believe you said.

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you employed on that date?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I was employed in the office of the attorney general of the State of New York as a title attorney.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain employed in that position?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I received my appointment there, original appointment, in April of 1941, I believe it was, and I remained in the employ of the attorney general until the present time. I've resigned from my position.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you state the time?

When did you resign?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I resigned last week.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I don't believe I have the date. I don't have my resignation with me.

Mr. TAVENNER. What day of last week?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I'm trying to recall now, sir.

I believe it was Wednesday, last week. My resignation takes effect as of the end of this month.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your employment prior to your acceptance of employment in April 1941?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I was employed in the corporation counsel's office in New York City.

Wait a minute. I would like to correct that. It may have been the city housing authority, but I was employed through the corporation counsel's office, in the law department there, the real estate division.

Mr. TAVENNER. It may be a little easier and more simple if I ask you to begin, say, back in 1930 and tell us what the nature of your employment or the practice of your profession has been since that time.

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Well, I'll be glad to proceed that way.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you were admitted in 1931. So, begin with that date, please.

Mr. SCHWARZBART. At that time I was employed by a title company in the Borough of Brooklyn, in the city of New York.

Shortly after my admission to the bar, I left the title company, went into the general practice of the law, and I engaged in practice for 2 or 3 years, I believe, approximately.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you fix the years, please?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Well, I believe I left the title company in 1931 or 1932, and I engaged in the general practice of law, city of New York, probably—I believe until 1935.

Mr. TAVENNER. And where was your office located during that period of time?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. At 104 Fifth Avenue, and also at 100 Fifth Avenue.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you practicing alone at that period or in conjunction with other attorneys?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I practiced with——

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not asking you to state with whom you practiced. I just want to know whether you were a member of a firm.

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I was a member of a firm; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been a member of the National Lawyers' Guild at any time during the course of the practice of your profession?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. During what period of time?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Well, I would say about 1945 to the present time.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is your membership?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. That's an approximate date.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has your membership been here in the city of Albany during that period of time?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been active in the sense of occupying a position of any character in that organization?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions have you held?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Well, I was chairman of the local chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild for, I believe, 2 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What years were those?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I wouldn't be sure, sir, but I believe it was about 1949 or 1950, thereabouts.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other positions have you held?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I'm a member of the national executive board of the National Lawyers' Guild.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you held any other position with the national organization?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I don't believe so, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been on the national executive board of the National Lawyers' Guild?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Two or three years.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has made a rather extensive investigation in certain places, particularly in Los Angeles, into the Communist Party purposes in its work in connection with the National Lawyers' Guild. A group of lawyers who have testified before our committee stated that they had been members of a group or cell of the Communist Party composed exclusively of lawyers. They called it the professional cell.

One of the witnesses who testified that he had been a member and had later withdrawn from the party was Mr. David Aaron. Mr. Aaron said he was given to understand that the Lawyers' Guild was to be made as much as possible the legal arm to speak for and repre-

sent the Communist Party. He was asked if he had been given any directions with regard to participation in the activities of the Lawyers' Guild, and he went on to describe what his activities had been, and stated, in the course of his testimony, that it had been decided at one time he should be secretary of the Los Angeles chapter—that is, decided by the Communist Party group, composed exclusively of lawyers.

Mr. A. Marburg Yerkes was a law professor in a university in or close to Los Angeles, and he testified that he, too, had been a member of the Communist Party for a period of time, and he described his activities in the National Lawyers' Guild as a member of the Communist Party and the efforts the Communist Party was making through that organization of attorneys to infiltrate the National Lawyers' Guild and influence its conduct or its action.

I would like to know from you whether you have any knowledge of the activities of the Communist Party or any effort on the part of the Communist Party to infiltrate the National Lawyers' Guild, either on the local level here at Albany where you were a member or on the national level where you were a member of the executive board.

(At this point Mr. Schwarzbart conferred with Mr. Weissman.)

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I respectfully decline to answer that question, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. On what ground?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. On the grounds of the fifth amendment, in that I should not be required to testify against myself, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. On the grounds that any answer you might give might tend to incriminate you, Mr. Schwarzbart?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I prefer the language of the Constitution, sir—the same effect.

Mr. KEARNEY. You don't prefer the usual language of the usual witness.

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Pardon, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. You don't prefer the usual language of the usual witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are relying upon the fifth amendment. I want to ask you this question principally for the purpose of testing to some extent your good faith in reliance upon that reply, or upon the fifth amendment: You say that you were employed by the State of New York when this subpoena was served on you on May 14, and that on last Wednesday you resigned from your position, the resignation to become effective, I believe, at the end of this month. Let me ask you this question: Did you at any time during the course of your employment by the State of New York either admit or deny to your superior in the State government, or to any other responsible official in the State government, that you had been a member of the Communist Party at any time?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I'll respectfully refuse to answer that question, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever made application for a position with the Federal Government?

Before you answer that, on what grounds do you rely for your refusal to answer?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Yes, sir; the same grounds, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you will answer my question, please.

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I have no recollection of such.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you made application for your position with the State government of the State of New York, did you make it in writing?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. In that statement or in any question that was asked you, was reference made in any way to either your membership or nonmembership in an organization which had for its purpose the overthrow of the Government of the United States?

(At this point Mr. Schwarzbart conferred with Mr. Weissman.)

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I will refuse to answer that, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been identified during the course of the testimony here today as having been a member of what was known as either the county committee or the city committee of the Communist Party in the Albany area. Did you hear that testimony by Mr. Davis—Mr. John Davis?

(At this point Mr. Schwarzbart conferred with Mr. Weissman.)

My first question is: Did you hear Mr. Davis testify to that effect?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I did hear Mr. Davis testify, but not to that effect, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Davis, according to my recollection of the testimony, identified you as having been a member of that committee—that is, the city committee or the county committee, as it was variously called, or section committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHWARZBART. That is not my recollection of the testimony.

Mr. TAVENNER. Regardless of whether my recollection is correct or whether yours is, were you a member of the section committee or the city committee or the county committee of the Communist Party in Albany?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I'll refuse to answer that, sir—same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. While an employee of the government of the State of New York, were you at any time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I'll refuse to answer that, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you aware of the existence of a group or cell of the Communist Party in the city of Albany composed principally of persons employed in the State government in Albany?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I'll refuse to answer that, sir—same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. It has been testified here today by Mr. John Davis that members of the Communist Party who were employed by the State government were used here in this community as leaders in the various groups that were established—that is, various groups of the Communist Party that were established here. Are you aware that that was true?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I'll decline to answer, sir—same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you engage in any Communist Party activities in Albany in the year 1946 or 1947?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I'll decline to answer that, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any Communist Party meeting held in the city of Albany in 1946 or 1947?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Same refusal; same reason.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. John Davis testified that a meeting was held of the Communist Party members at the home of Evelyn Goldstein—attended by her, my recollection is also by her husband, by yourself, and Mr. Morris Zuckman—the purpose of which was to arrive at a decision as to what should be done about the continuance of Mr. Zuckman as head of the American Labor Party in the city of Albany. Did you attend such a meeting?

MR. SCHWARZBART. I'll refuse to answer, sir—same reason.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you consulted on the subject?

MR. SCHWARZBART. Same answer, for the same reason, sir.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Davis testified that it was decided at one stage of the difficulty arising over Mr. Zuckman's conduct of his office that he should be removed as head of the American Labor Party in the city of Albany and that, as a result of that, both he and Mr. Harold Klein, a Communist organizer in the district, were called to the city of New York and were advised that the decision was off and that Mr. Zuckman should remain in his position.

When I say "called to New York," I mean to meet with members of the Communist Party on the State level. I understood from his testimony that you had made a telephone call to the city of New York in regard to this matter. Did you make such a telephone call?

MR. SCHWARZBART. I'll refuse to answer, sir, for the same reason.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Davis also testified, in the course of the morning, that you took him aside on one occasion and that you told him during the period that he was organizer in this area before taking any action he should consult you as there might be some difference in opinion as to your ideas of how things might be done and that of others in the group. Did you have such a conversation with him?

MR. SCHWARZBART. I'll refuse to answer, sir, for the same reason.

MR. SCHERER. Was Mr. Davis' testimony that he gave before this committee this morning true or false?

MR. SCHWARZBART. I'll refuse to answer that.

MR. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I request the witness be instructed to answer that question. He has given no reason for refusing.

MR. KEARNEY. May I ask the witness upon what grounds?

MR. SCHWARZBART. On the same grounds.

MR. KEARNEY. If the witness refuses to answer the question, let him give the grounds.

MR. SCHWARZBART. I'm sorry. I thought I had made it clear—on the same grounds, of the fifth amendment, sir.

MR. TAVENNER. In each refusal you have given, you have intended to rely upon the fifth amendment as your ground for your refusal?

MR. SCHWARZBART. Yes, sir.

MR. SCHERER. I think he can say on the same grounds, if he repeats it each time, but you didn't in response to my question, and that is why I asked the chairman to instruct you to answer.

MR. TAVENNER. I wanted to ask you what your intention is in the matter. It would present an entirely different situation if your intention were not expressed.

Now, I think I should say to you, Mr. Schwarzbart, that in the course of our investigation here information has been received that you are not at this time a member of the Communist Party. Is that true or is it false?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I am not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you cease to become a member?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I'll refuse to answer that question, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member on the 14th day of May, when the subpoena was served on you?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member on January 1, 1953?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member on January 1, 1952?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member on January 1, 1951?

(At this point Mr. Schwarzbart conferred with Mr. Weissman.)

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I'll refuse to answer that, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Actually, you were not a member in January 1, 1951, were you?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I'll refuse to answer that, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a matter of fact, wasn't it during the year 1950 that you were expelled from the Communist Party?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I'll refuse to answer that, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was it that occurred that changed your situation in either 1950 or 1951, as you state, which places your answer on a different basis as to the two periods of time?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I'll refuse to answer that, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you attended any Communist Party meetings since January 1, 1951?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I'll refuse to answer that, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you attended Communist Party meetings since January 1, 1952?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have told this committee that you have not been a member of the Communist Party certainly since January 1, 1952. You have refused to answer whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party prior to that time on the ground, you state, that you are afraid that if you do so it might tend to incriminate you. Now, actually, you are not in fear of incrimination, are you, Mr. Schwarzbart?

You have heard various witnesses testify here during this hearing as to their prior Communist Party membership. You are not actually in fear of criminal prosecution, are you?

(At this point Mr. Schwarzbart conferred with Mr. Weissman.)

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I'll refuse to answer that, sir, relying on the fifth amendment in good faith.

Mr. TAVENNER. You insist, then, in reliance upon that right, which the Constitution gives you?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And if you are acting in good faith, it is a position that you are entitled to take.

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I believe I am, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. How could your admission about membership in the Communist Party possibly incriminate you?

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I'll refuse to answer that, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. SCHERER. While you were employed by the State of New York, Mr. Schwarzbart, did you ever receive any compensation directly or indirectly from Communists or from the Communist Party, either as an attorney or otherwise?

(At this point Mr. Schwarzbart conferred with Mr. Weissman.)

Mr. SCHWARZBART. I'll refuse to answer that, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. KEARNEY. The witness is excused.

Mr. SCHWARZBART. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. David Rappaport.

Mr. KEARNEY. Will you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. I do.

Mr. Chairman, I—am I addressing myself to Mr. Tavenner, or should I address myself to the chairman?

Mr. TAVENNER. To the chairman.

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Mr. Chairman, I have been subpoenaed, which means that I have been compelled to appear before this body. I must be frank. I don't have the esteem for this body that I have for the Congress in general.

Mr. KEARNEY. I am not interested in whether you have any esteem for this body or not.

Mr. RAPPAPORT. I think this is an outrageous proceeding.

Mr. KEARNEY. The witness will take the chair.

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Therefore, I request that I be not compelled to participate in this proceeding over the radio.

Mr. KEARNEY. All right.

Mr. RAPPAPORT. I don't wish to contribute to the misinformation—

Mr. KEARNEY. Your request is granted—

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Of the people listening to it.

Mr. KEARNEY (continuing). Under the rules of the committee.

TESTIMONY OF ARPAD DAVID RAPPAPORT, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ROBERT LEWIS

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, sir?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Arpad David Rappaport.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. LEWIS. The name is Robert Lewis. My office is at 104 East 40th Street, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Rappaport?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. I was born in Hungary on December 6, 1908.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. I am, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you naturalized?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Through my mother, who married a naturalized citizen, who was naturalized in the southern district court on June 3, 1900.

Mr. TAVENNER. Under what name were you naturalized?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Arpad David Rappaport.

Mr. TAVENNER. Due to the fact you referred to your mother's having married another person, I didn't know just how that was handled.

Mr. RAPPAPORT. I should explain the subpoena is in the name of David Rappaport, but my official name is Arpad David Rappaport. I have difficulties with the first name, as to spelling and pronunciation, which has caused me a certain amount of inconvenience, and others as well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, then, will you spell your first name correctly, please, for the record?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. A-r-p-a-d.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your profession, Mr. Rappaport?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. It's difficult to explain right now what my profession and status are. Owing to the invasion of this committee into the city of Albany, in violation of the 10th amendment to the Constitution, which provides that the State has its own responsibilities in judging the qualifications and merits of its employees, I was suspended from my position on or about July 2.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what way has this committee interfered with your rights of employment?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. In that my suspension was coincidental with my notification to my employers that I had been subpoenaed, as I thought it proper that I should notify them.

I have been working for the State of New York for about 19 years. During that period I was given every reason to think that I was a loyal and capable employee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you—

Mr. KEARNEY. Why all this explanation, then, if you have nothing to fear?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. It's not an explanation, sir. It's a statement that this committee has done me considerable harm, unjustifiable harm, and has forced the State to cancel its attitude of approval that it has maintained toward me for a long time.

Mr. KEARNEY. Is that by your own doings?

(No response.)

Mr. KEARNEY. Has that been brought about by your own doings?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Beg pardon?

Mr. KEARNEY. I ask you, as a witness: Is that harm brought about by your own doings?

(At this point Mr. Rappaport conferred with Mr. Lewis.)

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Sir, I have just finished explaining that my suspension immediately followed the service of the subpoena on me by that young man sitting there.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, during the time you were employed by the State of New York, when you said you were a loyal citizen, were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Sir, I'm proud to live under this glorious Constitution and, what is more, I will make full use of it for my protection

because I hope it will be the protection of 160 million—200 million people in 10 years.

Mr. KEARNEY. Would you mind answering the question just addressed to you by the Congressman?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. I will answer that question, sir.

I do not consider this a legislative inquiry. I consider it what many others have considered it—an inquisition.

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, I direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. RAPPAPORT. That being so, I, therefore, decline to answer that question under the Constitution of the United States—the first article of the Bill of Rights, which provides for freedom of speech and freedom of association. Furthermore, I invoke independently and with it the protection in the same Constitution, which I love and honor, which does not compel me to be a witness against myself. I shall not be a witness against myself in this hearing.

Mr. SCHERER. It couldn't be that you lost your position with the State of New York because you were a member of the Communist Party, could it?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. I have not yet lost my position with the State of New York. As I said before, I have been suspended.

I have not resigned from my position.

Mr. SCHERER. All right. Could it be that you were suspended because you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Sir, you are entering a field of speculation. I leave speculation with you. Could it be?

That's a question I can't answer. That's a matter of opinion; and I think you have, from your point of view, an extremely well-informed kind of opinion.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your opinion—

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Opinion? I can't even give an opinion on a question like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. As to whether—

Mr. RAPPAPORT. No rational human being can answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. As to whether or not you are a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. What's the question?

(At this point Mr. Rappaport conferred with Mr. Lewis.)

Mr. RAPPAPORT. What is the question, please, sir?

Restate it.

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, if the witness would stop making speeches and listen to the question, he would probably understand it.

Mr. SCHERER. Let me ask this question. Did any official from the State of New York, when you were suspended, ask you whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. No official of the State of New York asked me anything.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, if he had asked you, what would have been your answer?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. I'll make that answer when and if he asks me, in accordance with the law.

Mr. KEARNEY. Why were you suspended from your position in the State of New York?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Is that a relevant question, sir?

I would like to ask my attorney whether it is relevant to this inquiry.

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

(At this point Mr. Rappaport conferred with Mr. Lewis.)

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Sir, that matter will be discussed when my case is heard. I would like to be excused from answering it.

Mr. KEARNEY. I want to insist upon an answer.

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Very well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Rappaport, you started out by saying this committee had done you a great injustice.

Your name was mentioned here this morning—I believe it was mentioned also yesterday—in connection with the Communist Party in a very definite way. It has been the practice of this committee in a situation of that kind to subpoena persons who have been mentioned—not in all cases, but at least to give every individual an opportunity to come here and occupy the seat that you are occupying and deny that or explain it, if there is anything untrue about it. So, if this committee has been unfair in any way to you, in hearing evidence relating to alleged Communist Party membership on your part, right now is the time to get it straightened out, and I want to give you that chance.

Now, will you tell the committee the facts regarding your knowledge of Communist Party activities in Albany?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. First of all, when I was subpoenaed here, and when I arrived before you, I made it pretty plain I was out of sympathy with your aims. Now, I based that lack of sympathy on some very distinguished opinions in the matter.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not asking you anything about your sympathy or your feeling either for or against this committee. It is a matter of fact I am inquiring about.

To be specific, let me ask you this question: You were identified by Mr. John Davis this morning as having been a member of the Communist Party in the city of Albany and having been active in its work. Was that true or was it false?

Now is your opportunity to explain.

Mr. RAPPAPORT. I decline to be a witness against myself, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States.

As to other matters, I have already stated my views.

I understand this is not a court of law. I understand this is a legislative hearing, sir.

May I make some recommendations to your body?

Mr. TAVENNER. I doubt very much if the committee would be interested in what you would say.

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute, Mr. Tavenner. If he would answer those questions on which he took the fifth amendment, I would be willing to listen to his recommendations.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is what I am trying to tell him.

Mr. RAPPAPORT. It appears to me, sir, this committee has a very narrow interest.

I don't want to boast, but I have a broader interest apparently than this committee has.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is the opinion of some individuals, but in the opinion of the vast majority of the people of this country this committee is interested in the welfare of our country.

Mr. RAPPAPORT. I accept that, sir, as your opinion.

Mr. KEARNEY. You were an employee of the Joint Welfare—
Is that the name of your agency?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. New York State Department of Social Welfare.

Mr. KEARNEY. And who is your superior?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. The commissioner.

You mean the head of the department?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Commissioner Robert Landsdale.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did he interview you after you were served a subpoena?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. No, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Who did?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. I wasn't interviewed. I simply reported to my immediate superior.

Mr. KEARNEY. Who was that?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Dr. Schneider, head of the bureau of statistics.

Mr. KEARNEY. At that time you reported to him, did you refuse to be sworn?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. No, sir?

Mr. KEARNEY. You did not?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. No, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Before Dr. Huston?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. And you said you did not.

Mr. RAPPAPORT. I made the statement that I had been requested to appear before Mr. Keniry, in the State attorney general's office, and Mr. Keniry, I think, is here and will bear me out; and when he asked me to be sworn, I said this is the first I heard of the investigation into my competence—this is the first my competence was in question—and, therefore, I asked him if it was customary to swear in and testify to one's own incompetence without representation by an attorney, and I declined to so swear in.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is what I asked you a minute ago, and you said you didn't.

Mr. RAPPAPORT. That was before Doctor—you asked me whether I refused—I was concealing nothing—you asked me whether I refused to swear in. Mr. Keniry is here. I couldn't be concealing anything. There are two different State officials. You asked me about Dr. Schneider, and then you asked me about Mr. Huston.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, he first asked you whether you refused to swear before a State official. Now, is Dr. Huston a State official?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. Yes, sir; he is.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, evidently you missed the chairman's question.

Mr. RAPPAPORT. If I missed his question, I regret it. I intend to answer truthfully.

Mr. KEARNEY. I just want it straight for the record. At that time you appeared before Dr. Huston, did you refuse to be sworn?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. I did, for the reason stated.

Mr. KEARNEY. All right; proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did your employment with the State of New York begin?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. It began toward the end of 1934.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the nature of your employment, or what has it been since 1934, in a general way?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. In a general way, I was a scientific secretary in the division of laboratory and research. The title was principal clerk, laboratory.

Then I took an open competitive examination, and somewhere around the end of 1939 I was appointed junior statistician; and then I was promoted to other titles and, finally, I was promoted to the title of senior economist.

Incidentally, my last annual service rating was superior.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time you obtained employment by the State, did you sign any application for your position which indicated whether or not you had ever been or were at that time a member of an organization which had for its purpose the overthrow of the Government of the United States?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. What period are you referring to, sir?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, let us make it general and say any period of time during your employment.

(At this point Mr. Rappaport conferred with Mr. Lewis.)

Mr. RAPPAPORT. At this point I claim the privilege previously referred to—that I shall not be a witness against myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you state at any time to your superior, or any other responsible Government official, that you either had been or had not been a member of the Communist Party at any time?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. I do not recall any such conversation. To the best of my knowledge, I never made such statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. I decline to answer on the grounds stated previously—namely, bearing witness against myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RAPPAPORT. I decline for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no questions.

Mr. KEARNEY. If there are no further questions, the witness will be excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. John Wright.

Mr. KEARNEY. Will you hold up your right hand and be sworn?

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do.

Mr. COLLOMS. Mr. Chairman, at this point, may I request that the broadcast instruments be turned off?

Mr. KEARNEY. The request is granted.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN WRIGHT, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ALBERT L. COLLOMS

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. WRIGHT. John Wright.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. COLLOMS. Albert L. Colloms—C-o-l-l-o-m-s—342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Wright?

Mr. WRIGHT. I wonder if, before I begin to answer questions, I may have an opportunity to read a statement that I would like to present to the committee.

Mr. KEARNEY. You may send the statement to the Chair here. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, please, sir?

Mr. WRIGHT. June 20, 1900, in Brandford, England.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized citizen of the United States?

Mr. WRIGHT. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you naturalized?

Mr. WRIGHT. I regret that I don't have the certificate with me, but I was under age at the time my father was naturalized and I should say that, I know definitely, went back before World War I.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation?

Mr. WRIGHT. I resigned my position. So, I assume I am unemployed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, what was your position before you resigned?

Mr. WRIGHT. I was a State employee.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your employment?

Mr. WRIGHT. I was employed by the Division of Parole for the State of New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your employment?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, you mean for the entire period, or for—

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Let's start at the beginning. When were you first employed by the State government?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think it was August 1930, that I entered the State service.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, then, will you describe in a general way what your employment has been since that time?

Mr. WRIGHT. With the exception of a year or two, all told, in field work and in institutional work, I have been employed continuously in the central office of the division of parole.

Mr. TAVENNER. The records of the committee show you were served with a subpoena by Mr. James A. Andrews, investigator of this committee, on June 15, 1953, to appear as a witness at this hearing, and that it was served on you at the New York State vocational institution on that date.

Mr. WRIGHT. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that in accordance with the facts?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were, therefore, employed there at that time?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, in that institution; that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your employment prior to 1930?

Mr. WRIGHT. For part of that time—that is, subsequent to a completion of my formal education—I was engaged in the life-insurance business, and for another part of it in the teaching profession.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your formal educational training has been?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have an A. B. from Hamilton College, 1921, and an A. M. from Middlebury College, 1923.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Wright, I would like to ask you whether you were a member of the Communist Party on September 29, 1948.

Mr. WRIGHT. I decline to answer that question for the following reasons:

(1) I consider any question concerning my associations, my political views, or my affiliations a violation of certain rights guaranteed to me and all other citizens under the first amendment of the Bill of Rights of our Constitution. That is, respectively, the right of freedom of speech and the right of peaceful association.

(2) I decline to answer such questions because I cannot permit myself to become a party to the actions of this committee which, in my view, violate our country's long tradition of political freedom.

(3) I decline to answer such questions independently on the grounds of the protection afforded me by the fifth amendment in the Bill of Rights, which establishes for all citizens the right not to be a witness against himself.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what work were you engaged in September of 1948, with the State of New York?

Where was your office at that time? What was the address of your office?

Mr. WRIGHT. To the best of my recollection, it was 547 Broadway.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the building, if any, in which your office was located?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think it's called the Drislane Building.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever have an office in the Alfred E. Smith Building?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is any part of the offices of the division of parole located in the Alfred E. Smith Building?

Mr. WRIGHT. If they are, it is not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is any other part of the State government located in that building?

Mr. WRIGHT. In the Alfred E. Smith Building?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. I understand that's a 24-story building and it's all occupied by city offices.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. I may be mistaken, but I understand that is a fact.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall having received an invitation to a Communist Party meeting in September 1948 for the specific purpose of discussing work of a congressional committee?

Mr. WRIGHT. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you what appears to be a photostatic copy of a letter addressed to you. Will you examine it, please, and state whether or not you recall having received the original of that letter?

(At this point Mr. Wright conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

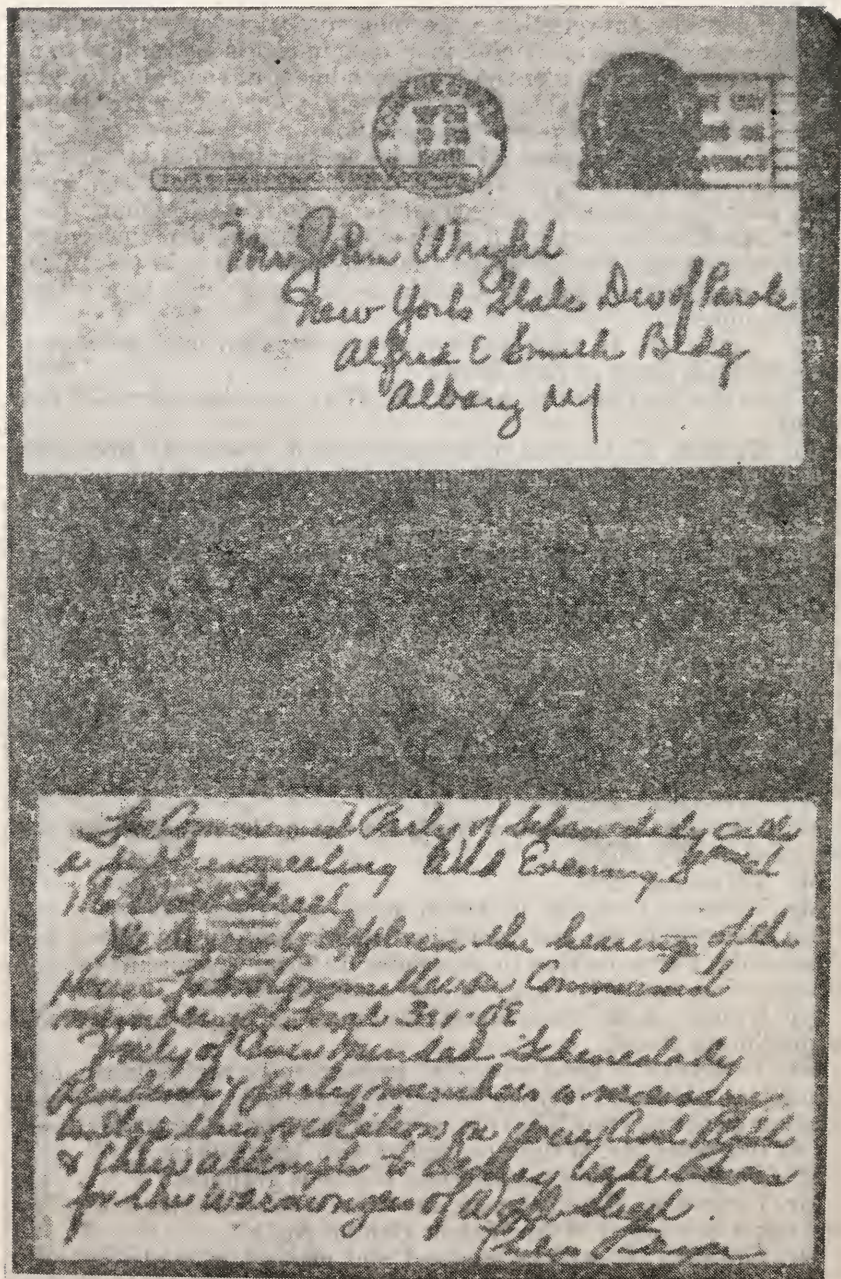
Mr. WRIGHT. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer the letter in evidence and ask it be marked "John Wright Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. KEARNEY. It will be received and marked in evidence.

(The photostatic copy of a post card, addressed to Mr. John Wright and postmarked September 29, 1948, was marked and received in evidence as "John Wright Exhibit No. 1.")

JOHN WRIGHT EXHIBIT No. 1



Mr. WRIGHT. By the way, Mr. Counselor, you referred to that as a letter. Actually, it occurs to me, as I read it, that is a post card—a Government post card. I think there ought to be a distinction between the—

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, and I better draw the same distinction in my question.

Did you receive the post card this appears to be a copy of?

Mr. WRIGHT. I refuse to answer for the same reasons. On the same grounds.

Mr. KEARNEY. Now that we have gotten the distinction between the post card and the letter given, Mr. Counsel, will you proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. I will need the letter before I proceed.

Mr. KEARNEY. Post card.

Mr. TAVENNER. Post card. Excuse me.

This post card bears the post mark "Schenectady, September 29, 1948" and addressed "Mr. John Wright, New York State Division of Parole, Alfred E. Smith Building, Albany, N. Y." The message reads:

The Communist Party of Schenectady calls a public meeting Wednesday evening, 8 p. m., at 116 Wall Street.

We desire to explain the hearings of the House Labor Committee on Communist members of Local 301, UE.

(At this point Mr. Wright conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. TAVENNER (continuing to read) :

A unity of civic-minded Schenectady residents and party members is necessary to stop this violation on your civil rights and their attempts to betray trade unions for the warmongers of Wall Street.

Signed "Philip Bayer"—B-a-y-e-r.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Counsel, did you say it was with reference to the Labor Committee of the House?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Are you acquainted with Philip Bayer?

Mr. WRIGHT. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend the meeting mentioned on this post card?

(At this point Mr. Wright conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. WRIGHT. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. KEARNEY. Are any of those meetings well attended?

(At this point Mr. Wright conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. WRIGHT. Were you addressing a question to me, Mr. Chairman? I didn't get it. Would you mind repeating it?

Mr. KEARNEY. Are any of those meetings well attended?

Mr. WRIGHT. Which meetings are you referring to?

Mr. KEARNEY. The one counsel just referred to.

Mr. WRIGHT. I'm not quite sure. He spoke of one meeting. You spoke of a series of meetings.

Mr. KEARNEY. I am speaking of the same meeting.

Mr. WRIGHT. I couldn't answer that question for the same reasons.

(At this point Mr. Wright conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Wright, you have been identified during the course of the hearings here as having been a State employee in Albany who was a member of the Communist Party, and that you were active in the work of the party. Were you properly and correctly identified as having been a member of the Communist Party in Albany?

Mr. WRIGHT. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WRIGHT. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the—

Mr. WRIGHT. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Wait a minute.

Mr. KEARNEY. I suggest the witness wait until counsel finishes the question; then answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. There were indications you had decided not to answer any questions that the committee might ask you.

Mr. WRIGHT. That is an observation to which you are entitled.

Mr. TAVENNER. And am I correct about it?

Mr. WRIGHT. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

(At this point Mr. Wright conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. WRIGHT. By the way, I turned over to counsel, which he handed up to the chairman, a statement which I asked permission to read, and I have heard no more about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you think you should be permitted to make a statement, when you have decided you will not answer any questions?

Mr. WRIGHT. I certainly think I should be permitted to read it under any circumstances.

Mr. SCHERER. I will recommend to the chairman if the gentleman will answer all the questions to which he has pled the fifth amendment that he be allowed to read the statement in full and that it be made a part of the record.

Mr. WRIGHT. Pardon me. I would say it shouldn't be conditional. After all, if you have the National Association of Manufacturers on your side, most of the press, big business, what do you have to worry about my reading a statement?

What's—really, what can I do to you?

Mr. KEARNEY. I am going to ask the officers to eject those who caused that demonstration.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KEARNEY. The witness is excused.

Now, if some of our guests think they can turn this hearing into something to suit their own purpose, they are sadly mistaken.

Call the next witness, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Irving Gold.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Gold, do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GOLD. I do.

TESTIMONY OF IRVING GOLD, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ALBERT L. COLLOMS

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. GOLD. Irving Gold.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. GOLD. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. COLLOMS. Albert L. Colloms, 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

May I respectfully request that the broadcast instruments be turned off at this time, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. The request is granted.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Gold?

Mr. GOLD. I was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., 1912.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your profession or occupation?

Mr. GOLD. At the moment I'm unemployed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your formal training, educational training, has been?

Mr. GOLD. I went through the public schools in New York city and graduated from New York University in 1934, and in 1936 I received the master's degree from Brooklyn College, with a major in American history, at which time I wrote a thesis on Lincoln and the Supreme Court.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you tell the committee, please, what your record of employment has been since 1938?

Mr. GOLD. In 1938 I was employed at the New York City Civil Service Commission, and I remained in that position until 1942, when I took a position with the New York State Department of Civil Service.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how long did you remain in that position?

Mr. GOLD. I resigned from that position effective June 30 of this year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you served with a subpoena to appear as a witness before this committee?

Mr. GOLD. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date on which the service was made?

Mr. GOLD. As I recollect, it was June 18.

Mr. TAVENNER. June 18?

(At this point Mr. Gold conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. TAVENNER. The return on your subpoena shows this service was made on you at your office. Where was your office located?

Mr. GOLD. 39 Columbia Street, in Albany.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you employed at that time?

Mr. GOLD. I was employed as an associate personnel technician in the State civil-service department.

Mr. TAVENNER. For the State of New York?

Mr. GOLD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have just stated you have resigned your position, the same to become effective at some future date; do I understand, or some past date?

Mr. GOLD. The resignation took effect June 30.

Mr. TAVENNER. June 30?

Mr. GOLD. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you resign?

Mr. GOLD. I believe it was June 25.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you first come to the city of Albany to engage in your work or in the work of your position?

Mr. GOLD. In 1942, I think it was, August 15.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you been a member of the Communist Party prior to your coming to Albany?

Mr. GOLD. I decline to answer the question on the grounds following, I have 3 or 4 parts to my declination:

(1) This country has become great and has been my——

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, let me interrupt you a minute.

Mr. KEARNEY. I will ask the witness, which is his privilege, to decline to answer under the stated grounds without going into a lengthy tirade.

(At this point Mr. Gold conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. GOLD. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first, fifth and sixth amendments.

Mr. KEARNEY. Thank you.

(At this point Mr. Gold conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to your resignation from your position with the State government, or even after your resignation, did you make any statement to your superior in the State Government, or any other responsible official, either denying or affirming past Communist Party membership?

Mr. GOLD. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds as previously given.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been identified, Mr. Gold, by the witness, Mr. John Davis, as having been a member of the Communist Party, being one of the group that he termed the State group during the year 1946 and 1947 in Albany.

(At this point Mr. Gold conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that identification of you true or was it false?

Mr. GOLD. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOLD. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. KEARNEY. If you were not a member of the Communist Party, would you so state?

Mr. GOLD. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOLD. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. KEARNEY. The witness is excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. Rena Dodd.

Mr. KEARNEY. Hold up your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss DODD. I do.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Chairman, I also request that the radio not be on.

Mr. KEARNEY. The request is granted.

TESTIMONY OF RENA DODD, ACCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL, ROBERT LEWIS

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Miss DODD. Rena Dodd.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Miss DODD. Yes; I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. LEWIS. My name is Robert Lewis. My office is at 104 East 40th Street, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a native of Albany?

Miss DODD. Yes; I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your educational training has consisted of—that is, your formal educational training?

Miss DODD. I received my elementary and public school education and high school here in New York, and my B. A. from Barnard College.

Mr. TAVENNER. Excuse me. Will you speak a little louder and a little slower, please?

Miss DODD. I received my public education in Lansingberg schools and a B. A. from Barnard College.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you receive your B. A. degree?

Miss DODD. 1932.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee what your record of employment has been since that time?

Miss DODD. Approximately 1935 through 1936 I worked for the Albany Hospital, and since the end of 1936 for the New York State Health Department, Division of Laboratories.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that employment began when?

Miss DODD. At the end of 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. And were you so employed when you were served with a subpoena to appear as a witness at this hearing?

Miss DODD. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you still employed there?

Miss DODD. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did your employment cease?

Miss DODD. July 3.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a result of your own act or that of your employer?

Miss DODD. I resigned.

Mr. KEARNEY. By request?

Miss DODD. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was your resignation to be effective—at once?

Miss DODD. I turned in my resignation July 3.

As far as I know, that is the date it was effective, but I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been identified as having been a member of the Communist Party in the city of Albany. You were identified as one of the State employees' group. Was that identification of you correct or was it a mistaken identity?

Miss DODD. I shall have to decline to answer that question, because, in the first place, I feel this committee is—

Mr. KEARNEY. I will ask the witness to direct her declination to the language used and never mind giving an expression of what she thinks of this committee. We are not interested.

(At this point Miss Dodd conferred with Mr. Lewis.)

Mr. TAVENNER. If you have legal grounds on which you desire to refuse to answer, reference to them would be quite sufficient.

Miss DODD. Then I would decline on the grounds that it is a breach of my rights of freedom of speech, press, and association—first amendment—and also not only mine, but the American people.

I decline on the basis that I do not have to bear witness against myself, which is the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now, at the time you handed in your resignation on July 3, did you tell your employer—that is, your superior, or any other responsible officer of the State government—that you never

had been a member of the Communist Party or that you had been a member of the Communist Party at one time?

Miss DODD. I decline to answer that for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. What reason did you assign for your resignation?

Miss DODD. I resigned for personal reasons.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did I understand you to say you resigned for personal reasons?

Miss DODD. That was the wording of my resignation; yes.

Mr. KEARNEY. But that was after you were requested to resign?

Miss DODD. That's right.

Mr. KEARNEY. So there will be no mistake in the record, your resignation was not voluntary; it was requested?

Miss DODD. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Miss DODD. I refuse to answer that for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Miss DODD. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. KEARNEY. The witness is excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. Betty Laros.

Mr. KEARNEY. Will you hold up your right hand, please?

Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss LAROS. I do.

Mr. KEARNEY. You don't see anything funny in taking this oath, do you?

Miss LAROS. No; the photographers——

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Chairman, may the radio in this case——

Mr. KEARNEY. The same request is granted, under the rules of the committee.

TESTIMONY OF BETTY LAROS, ACCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL, ROBERT LEWIS

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Miss LAROS. Betty Laros

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Miss LAROS. Yes; I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. LEWIS. My name is Robert Lewis, with offices at 104 East 40th Street in the city of New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a native of the city of Albany?

Miss LAROS. No; I am not. I was born in Grinnell, Iowa.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Albany?

Miss LAROS. Seventeen years, I think.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you reside?

Miss LAROS. 1026 New Scotland Road.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you and the previous witness, Rena Dodd, occupy the same quarters?

Miss LAROS. Yes; her family lived in the house with us.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your formal educational training has been?

MISS LAROS. I graduated from high school in Grinnell, Iowa; received a B. A. degree from Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa; and took a year's course as a medical technologist at Nebraska University Medical School.

MR. TAVENNER. When did you complete that training?

MISS LAROS. The B. A. degree in 1933; the technologist course in 1934.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, briefly, how you have been employed since 1934?

MISS LAROS. Following that, approximately a year at Lordlister Hospital in Omaha, and a little over a year at the University of Nebraska Medical School; since that time in the divisions of laboratory and research at the New York State Health Department. I believe it was 1936 or 1937 when I came to Albany.

MR. TAVENNER. And since 1936 or 1937 you have been employed by the State government?

MISS LAROS. 1937.

MR. TAVENNER. Then, were you employed in that position at the time the subpoena was served on you to appear as a witness here?

MISS LAROS. Yes.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you recall the date when you were subpoenaed to appear here?

MISS LAROS. I don't. I recall it was dated June 2. It was some time after that—probably the 13th or 14th.

MR. TAVENNER. June 11 is the date appearing on the return.

MISS LAROS. That is correct.

MR. TAVENNER. Does that conform with your recollection?

MISS LAROS. Yes.

MR. TAVENNER. Are you still employed in the same position?

MISS LAROS. No. I was asked to resign, and I resigned.

MR. TAVENNER. When were you asked to resign?

MISS LAROS. July 1, I think it was.

MR. KEARNEY. That was after the subpoena was served upon you?

MISS LAROS. The subpoena was on—on June 11, I believe you said.

MR. TAVENNER. Yes.

MISS LAROS. It was after June 11. July 2 is after June 11.

MR. TAVENNER. You have been identified as being one of a group of State employees who were actively engaged in the work of the Communist Party in the city of Albany. In fact, Mr. John Davis, who was the organizer for the party here, paid organizer, who came here from New York in the year 1946 and stayed through most of 1947, testified that this group of State employees here was the backbone of the Communist Party in this area. As a result of the testimony he has given us, we have reason to believe that you were a member of that group. If you would do so, you could tell us facts relating to the operations of that group, which would add to the sum total of the knowledge of the committee regarding Communist activities in this area.

So, I will begin by asking you: Were you a member of that group?

MISS LAROS. I will decline to answer that, and I would like to give three legal grounds, which will take me less than a minute, if I may be allowed to.

MR. TAVENNER. Yes.

Miss LAROS. My speech is not free if I am compelled to disclose my political views.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a minute.

Miss LAROS. I can state the grounds in 1 minute.

Mr. TAVENNER. No; you are making a speech.

Miss LAROS. I am not making a speech.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have legal grounds to rely upon.

Miss LAROS. I decline to answer, invoking the first amendment.

Mr. KEARNEY. I suggest the witness consult her counsel, who will give her legal grounds.

Miss LAROS. I know my legal grounds.

Mr. KEARNEY. We are not going to sit here and listen to a speech.

Miss LAROS. Others have been allowed to give legal grounds.

Mr. KEARNEY. Now, we are not going to allow any speeches.

Miss LAROS. I am not making a speech.

Mr. KEARNEY. Make use of your counsel. That is what he is there for.

(At this point Miss Laros conferred with Mr. Lewis.)

Miss LAROS. I don't have to—I decline to answer that question, and I invoke the first amendment, guaranteeing freedom of speech, religious—religion and assembly.

I decline to answer, citing the sixth amendment, because I have no opportunity to cross-examine the witnesses you have produced. The sixth amendment, giving—includes the right to be confronted with one's witnesses.

Finally, I decline to answer, citing the fifth amendment, which states that one cannot be compelled to be a witness against himself, and which implies no sense of guilt, which has been decided in the courts—

Mr. KEARNEY. Did you write that?

Miss LAROS. That no inference—

Did I write this? I certainly did write it. I certainly did write it.

Mr. KEARNEY. You are having a little trouble reading your own writing.

Miss LAROS. It was because you wouldn't let me read it. I had to pick out pieces of it.

Mr. KEARNEY. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you were asked to resign on or about July 1 by some State authority, did you advise the official who spoke to you either that you had never been a member of the party, Communist Party, or that you had been a member of the Communist Party at one time?

(At this point Miss Laros conferred with Mr. Lewis.)

Miss LAROS. I decline to answer, using the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Miss LAROS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Miss LAROS. I decline for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KEARNEY. The witness is excused.

The committee will recess for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 3:45 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 3:55 p. m.)

(The hearing reconvened at 4 p. m., the following committee member being present: Representative Bernard W. Kearney (chairman of the subcommittee).)

Mr. KEARNEY. The committee will be in order.

Call your next witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Hannah Shapiro.

Mr. KEARNEY. Will you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, and the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I do.

Mr. COLLOMS. May I respectfully request at this time that the broadcasting instruments be turned off?

Mr. KEARNEY. The objection is noted. The broadcasting will be discontinued, under the rules of the committee.

TESTIMONY OF HANNAH SHAPIRO, ACCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL, ALBERT L. COLLOMS

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. Hannah Shapiro.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. Yes; I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. COLLOMS. Albert L. Colloms, 342 Madison Avenue, New York City, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a native of the city of Albany?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. No; I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you born?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I was born in Poland.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to this country?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. 1920.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. Yes; I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you naturalized?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I was naturalized through my father, who was naturalized in Louisiana when he was a member of the armed services stationed there prior to going overseas in 1918.

(At this point Mrs. Shapiro conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mrs. SHAPIRO. According to the laws of the time, I was a citizen 2 years before I came here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, briefly what your formal educational training has been?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I was educated in New York City—Brooklyn, to be exact; a bachelor's degree from Brooklyn College; and a master's degree from State College for Teachers this past June.

Mr. TAVENNER. What State teachers college was it in which you received your certificate in June?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. Albany State Teachers College.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a teacher?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. No; I am not teaching.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer entered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I mean by that—of course, this is the holiday season—in obtaining your certificate to teach at this teachers' college, were you proposing to engage in the profession of teaching?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. Yes; I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you a contract for teaching at any school in the State?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you apply?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you accepted?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. When?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. In May of this year.

(At this point Mrs. Shapiro conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Has that been canceled?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. Officially, no.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, what do you mean?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I mean it probably will be after this.

Mr. TAVENNER. But it has not been canceled, and you expect it to be as a result of your appearance here?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now, possibly it will not be canceled if we have a full explanation from you of what the situation may be about past Communist Party activities with which you have been identified. I mean by that there is testimony here that you were identified actively in the Communist Party here back in 1946 and 1947—as late as that. That is as late as the testimony has gone. Were you a member of the Communist Party here at that time?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the first, fifth, and sixth amendments.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you believe that a Communist should be allowed to teach our children?

(At this point Mrs. Shapiro conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mrs. SHAPIRO. Teach children what specifically?

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, let's answer the question first.

Mrs. SHAPIRO. Well—

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you think that a member of the Communist Party should be allowed to teach our children?

(At this point Mrs. Shapiro conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I believe that a person should be permitted to teach if he has the ability to teach.

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, that isn't quite answering my question, is it? I insist that you give me a direct answer, "Yes" or "No."

Mrs. SHAPIRO. That's a rather hard question to answer.

Mr. KEARNEY. I should say that it would be a very hard question for you to answer.

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I think that if a Communist is a known Communist, he should be permitted to teach. Then you know that he is teaching.

Mr. KEARNEY. I didn't hear that.

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I think if a person is a known Communist, he should be permitted to teach, because then you know what to expect of him.

Mr. KEARNEY. But then these individuals who hide behind the legal guaranties of the Constitution and refuse to admit their party affiliations, they should not be allowed to teach; is that what you mean?

(At this point Mrs. Shapiro conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mrs. SHAPIRO. Well, it's very difficult to answer directly in this committee, because if one does, one is bound to get involved in all kinds of legal——

Mr. KEARNEY. No; if one answers the truth before this committee, one is given credit for answering the truth and no one is persecuted before this committee. What we are seeking is the truth, and we would like truthful answers from witnesses.

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I have seen otherwise in the press.

Mr. KEARNEY. You have seen otherwise in the press.

Let me ask you this question: Before these hearings, have you ever attended a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. No.

Mr. KEARNEY. Then, in other words, you don't know what transpires at those hearings or how they are conducted, or how the witnesses testify or what their answers are?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. We usually get our information from the press and the magazines.

Mr. KEARNEY. All right; let me ask you these questions as far as these hearings are concerned:

Have you seen any witness denied the opportunity to consult with counsel?

Have you heard of any witness being abused before this committee?

Have you heard of any witness whose rights were denied before this committee?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. Well, they weren't permitted to make any statements.

Mr. KEARNEY. You mean make any speeches.

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I don't know whether you would call it speeches. I didn't know what they had in mind.

Mr. KEARNEY. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated you refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment as to whether you had been a member of the Communist Party. Don't you think that a father or mother who has a child going to the school in which you are expected to teach would have the right to ask the question as to whether or not there is a teacher there who is a member of the Communist Party and subject to the directives and the discipline of the Communist Party?

Don't you think a father and mother should have that right to inquire and ask——

Mrs. SHAPIRO. Well, I think in usual times a person's opinions, whether political or otherwise, are his own business. In these times, that isn't so; and I think parents would probably want to know that; yes. That's what I said.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you inform the school authorities when you applied for this teaching position whether or not you had ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I wasn't asked.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were not asked?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I am asking you now. Were you?

(At this point Mrs. Shapiro conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I refuse to answer that on the grounds stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. What school was it to which you made application to teach?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. Scotia High School.

Mr. TAVENNER. Located where?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. In Scotia.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that close to Albany?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. It's near Schenectady.

Mr. KEARNEY. I will say for the record, Mr. Counsel, that is in the chairman's congressional district. It is outside of Schenectady.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Albany?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. Fifteen years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party before coming to Albany?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I refuse to answer that question on the previous grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you believe the Communist Party to be a political party?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. Well, it is, isn't it?

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, in the words of its own leaders, it is an organization dedicated to the overthrow of our Government by force or violence.

Do you think that any member of such an organization should be allowed to teach our children?

(At this point Mrs. Shapiro conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I would like to know where that quotation is from.

Mr. KEARNEY. William Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party of the United States—

(At this point Mrs. Shapiro conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. KEARNEY. And I also believe that the Supreme Court of the United States said so.

(At this point Mrs. Shapiro conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I haven't—I don't know what Mr. Kearney means when he says the Supreme Court of the United States. It seems to me that has not been determined.

Mr. KEARNEY. It has been determined by the courts of the land that the Communist Party of the United States is part of the international Communist conspiracy and controlled by the Kremlin.

Now, with that in mind, do you think that a member of the Communist Party should be allowed to teach our children?

(At this point Mrs. Shapiro conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I'm sorry. I don't have sufficient—I think what Mr. Kearney has stated is more or less an opinion. It's hearsay, and I would rather not—

Mr. KEARNEY. What I stated—

Mrs. SHAPIRO. Make any statement.

Mr. KEARNEY (continuing). To you is hearsay?

Mrs. SHAPIRO. I don't remember any such thing. I don't know enough about the court cases that have gone through the courts to know what this is all about. I am sorry.

Mr. KEARNEY. All right; proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KEARNEY. The witness is excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. Harry J. Gordon.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I do.

Mr. COLLOMS. May I renew my request at this time that the broadcast—

Mr. KEARNEY. The request is granted.

**TESTIMONY OF HARRY GORDON ITSKOWITZ, ACCOMPANIED BY
HIS COUNSEL, ALBERT L. COLLOMS**

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. The name, as it appears on the subpoena that I received, is Harry Gordon Itskowitz.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name, please?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I-t-s-k-o-w-i-t-z.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that your correct name?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. That is the name that appears on my birth certificate.

Mr. TAVENNER. On your birth certificate?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you were subpoenaed under the name of Harry J. Gordon?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. No. My subpoena reads Harry Gordon Itskowitz.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, then, that is your correct name?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you are also known by the name of Harry J. Gordon, are you not?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. No; that "J," is not familiar to me, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you are known as Harry Gordon?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation, Mr. Gordon?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. At present, salesman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Salesman?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you held that position?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. For about 3 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that time, how were you employed?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I worked as a weaver and carding-room operator. See, the title of that was machine carding tender.

Mr. TAVENNER. And prior to that how were you employed?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I worked for the Government—United States Government.

Mr. TAVENNER. For the Federal Government?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. For the Federal Government; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what capacity?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I was a communicator with the Civil Aeronautics Administration.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you so employed?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. Well, I'll start right at the beginning with my Government service. I was first hired by the Weather Bureau in New York City, about 1939, for a period of about 2 years; then transferred to Civil Aeronautics. The first assignment was Glens Falls, N. Y.

I worked at the station there for about a year, and with promotion and transfer again to a larger station up in Maine—Millinocket, Maine, where I worked for 6 months, and transferred to the Albany Airport.

Mr. TAVENNER. That would make the date of your transfer to Albany when?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. About 1944, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you remained in that work here until 40—

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. Seven.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you first became employed by the United States Government, did you file form 57, or at any subsequent time file form 57?

(At this point Mr. Itskowitz conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I'm not familiar with the form. I am not familiar with the form, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you file an application for employment?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. As you very well know, before one goes into Federal service, you do have to file application; take examinations, which I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the application contained a question asking whether or not you were at that time or had ever been a member of an organization which advocated the overthrow of the United States Government?

(At this point Mr. Itskowitz conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. Offhand, sir, I don't remember exactly how those applications were worded and just what questions—it's been many years ago now, and I'm not at all familiar with Government applications.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, at the time you began your employment with the United States Government in 1939, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I give would tend to incriminate me—under the fifth amendment.

In recent weeks various members of this committee have said—
Yes, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. The witness will confine his answers—

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I have replied, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. To the reason for refusing to answer questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason for the termination of your employment with the Government in 1947?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. A hearing was to be held, and I resigned.

Mr. TAVENNER. A hearing was to be held by whom?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I don't remember the title of that particular group that were going to hold a hearing, but that is the time I did resign.

Mr. KEARNEY. What were you charged with?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I was not charged.

Mr. SCHERER. What was the hearing about?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. Questioning my loyalty after many years.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, that is a charge.

Mr. KEARNEY. You don't call that a charge?

(At this point Mr. Itskowitz conferred with Mr. Colloms.)

Mr. KEARNEY. I'd say it was a very serious charge to question one's loyalty to one's country.

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. The question was concerning my loyalty.

Mr. KEARNEY. To your country?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. That was the—it wasn't a charge.

Mr. KEARNEY. It was a claim?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. It was a question; yes, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is what you were to be tried on?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. It was a question concerning my loyalty.

Mr. KEARNEY. Before they had a chance to find out, you resigned?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. Which was my privilege.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right. It was their privilege to try you also.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that question the question of whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me—under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you were identified here today by Mr. John Davis, who was an organizer for the Communist Party in this area, as having been a member in 1946 and 1947, the very period of your employment by the Federal Government.

Was his testimony true or false in identifying you as a party member?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. KEARNEY. If you were not a member of the Communist Party, would you so state?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I refuse to answer that question, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. While you were an employee of the Federal Government, did you submit to any directives or discipline of the Communist Party?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you pass any information to the Communist Party while you were an employee of the Federal Government?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I did my job well, faithfully. I've had an excellent record in Government service. My efficiency reports were excellent. I always did my job, and did it good.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, will you answer the question?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds—

Mr. KEARNEY. Were you engaged in any espionage work while you were working for the United States Government?

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. KEARNEY. By that, I mean espionage work for a foreign power or for the Communist Party.

Mr. ITSKOWITZ. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, I can now see why you were going to have a trial, and why certain charges were filed against you.

Is that all, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir; I have no further questions.

Mr. KEARNEY. The witness is excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. Evelyn Goldstein.

Mr. KEARNEY. Will you hold up your right hand?

Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. GOLDSTEIN. I do.

Mr. COLLOMS. May I repeat the same request?

Mr. KEARNEY. The same request is granted, under the ruling of the committee.

**TESTIMONY OF EVELYN GOLDSTEIN, ACCOMPANIED BY HER
COUNSEL, ALBERT L. COLLOMS**

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mrs. GOLDSTEIN. Evelyn Goldstein.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a native of Albany?

Mrs. GOLDSTEIN. No; I was born on 52 Jefferson Street, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you move to Albany?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. In 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your formal educational training was?

Mrs. GOLDSTEIN. I went up to 2½ years of high school.

Mr. TAVENNER. In New York City?

Mrs. GOLDSTEIN. No; I started it in Hartford, Conn. I had my first year of high school there after graduating from grammar school, and had a year and a half in Brooklyn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Excuse me. Will you tell me again when you came to Albany?

Mrs. GOLDSTEIN. In 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been employed at any time since?

Mrs. GOLDSTEIN. Yes; I am an office worker.

Mr. TAVENNER. What type of office work?

I am not asking you to name your employer, but what type of office work? Was it with the Government?

Mrs. GOLDSTEIN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it with a mercantile establishment, law office, or what?

Mrs. GOLDSTEIN. I was a bookkeeper for business establishments.

Mr. TAVENNER. A business establishment.

Were you living in Albany in 1946 and 1947?

Mrs. GOLDSTEIN. In November of 1946 I moved to Gloversville, N. Y., and lived there until September of 1952.

Mr. TAVENNER. It has been stated by Mr. John Davis that he was assigned to the position of a Communist Party organizer in 1946, and that he was brought to your home by Mr. Harold Klein, who was a Communist, who was a district organizer, superior in authority to him, and that he received from you and Mr. Klein the names of persons whom he should contact as the principal leaders of the Communist Party in Albany for purposes of reorganization of the party here. Will you tell the committee whether or not such a meeting took place in your home?

Mrs. GOLDSTEIN. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that I need not bear witness against myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were identified by Mr. Davis as having been a member of the section committee, sometimes referred to as the county committee and other times the city committee, of the Communist Party in this area. Was he correct in that testimony or not?

Mrs. GOLDSTEIN. I decline to answer for the same reasons as previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you ever on the payroll of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GOLDSTEIN. I refuse to answer that for the very same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you engage in Communist Party activities at any time during 1946 or 1947 in the area of Albany?

Mrs. GOLDSTEIN. Same declination for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GOLDSTEIN. Same declination for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GOLDSTEIN. Same answer; same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mrs. GOLDSTEIN. Thank you.

Mr. KEARNEY. The witness is excused.

The witnesses who have been subpoenaed will report at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning. Until that time, the committee will be in recess.

(Whereupon, at 4:30 p. m., the hearing was recessed to reconvene at 10 a. m., Thursday, July 16, 1953.)

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE ALBANY, N. Y., AREA--PART 2

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1953

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Albany, N. Y.

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m., in court room No. 1 of the Federal Building, Albany, N. Y., Hon. Bernard W. Kearney (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Bernard W. Kearney and Gordon H. Scherer.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk; James A. Andrews, and Earl L. Fuoss, investigators.

Mr. KEARNEY. The committee will be in order.

Are you ready for your first witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

I would like to call Dr. Louis J. Lubin.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Chairman, may I request the usual rule respecting the radio?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes; the request is granted and there will be no broadcasting, under the rules of the committee.

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS J. LUBIN, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ROBERT LEWIS

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Dr. LUBIN. Louis J. Lubin.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell your first name?

Dr. LUBIN. L-o-u-i-s.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Dr. Louis J. Lubin, are you not?

Dr. LUBIN. Of dentistry; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Dr. LUBIN. Yes, sir; I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. LEWIS. My name is Robert Lewis. My office is at 104 East 40th Street in the city of New York.

MR. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Dr. Lubin?

DR. LUBIN. In Albany, in 1909.

MR. TAVENNER. You state that your profession is that of dentistry?

DR. LUBIN. Yes, sir.

MR. TAVENNER. How long have you been engaged in the practice of dentistry in Albany?

DR. LUBIN. Since 1934, with the exception of the time that I spent in the Army.

MR. TAVENNER. What was the period of time you were in the Army?

DR. LUBIN. From October 1942 to March 1946.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your formal educational training has been?

DR. LUBIN. I had 2 years of pre dental and 3 years of dentistry at the University of Michigan and 1 year postgraduate work in dentistry at the University of Pennsylvania.

MR. TAVENNER. When did you complete your educational training?

DR. LUBIN. In 1934.

MR. TAVENNER. So you began immediately upon the completion of your preparation for dentistry, the practice of dentistry in Albany?

DR. LUBIN. Yes, sir.

MR. TAVENNER. Dr. Lubin, there has been testimony before this committee during this week, and there has been investigation conducted by the staff of this committee which indicates that you have or should have knowledge of the operations of the Communist Party in this area, and I would like to call upon you to answer certain questions regarding Communist Party activities in this area. I would like you to tell the committee, for instance, all that you know, if anything, regarding the plan of the Communist Party to raise money in this area for the purposes of the party. Do you have knowledge of such matters?

DR. LUBIN. I would like to decline to answer this question on the basis of the first and fifth amendment.

MR. TAVENNER. You state that you would like to decline.

MR. LUBIN. I do decline.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. John Davis identified you as a member of the professional cell or group of the Communist Party in Albany during the period of 1946 and 1947. Was he telling the truth in identifying you as a member of that group?

DR. LUBIN. I decline to answer that question for the same reasons.

MR. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

DR. LUBIN. I decline to answer this question for the same reasons.

MR. TAVENNER. Have you made any contribution of any character to the Communist Party?

DR. LUBIN. I decline to answer this question for the same reasons.

MR. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

DR. LUBIN. I decline to answer this question for the same reasons.

MR. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

MR. KEARNEY. The witness is excused.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Sidney Belinky.

MR. KEARNEY. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. BELINKY. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF SIDNEY BELINKY, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
FRANKLIN P. GAVIN**

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. BELINKY. Sidney Belinky.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell your last name, please?

Mr. BELINKY. B-e-l-i-n-k-y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. BELINKY. I am, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. GAVIN. Franklin P. Gavin, 202 State Street, Albany, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. BELINKY. In Albany, in March of 1920.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you lived in Albany all of your life?

Mr. BELINKY. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your trade or profession?

Mr. BELINKY. I am a laundry worker.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your educational training has consisted of?

Mr. BELINKY. Well, the public school and high school.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you complete your high-school training?

Mr. BELINKY. I graduated in June of 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state briefly what your record of employment has been since 1938?

Mr. BELINKY. Well, I've always done laundry work.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been an employee of the Federal Government at any time?

Mr. BELINKY. No; I have not, sir.

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, I would like you to ask the photographers to cease taking photographs while the witness is testifying and ask the radio broadcast—

Mr. KEARNEY. There will be no photographs taken when the witness starts to testify, and, on your request, there will be no broadcast.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been an employee of the State of New York at any time?

Mr. BELINKY. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been identified in the course of the testimony here as having been a member of the Communist Party in Albany during the years 1946 and 1947. I want to know first, whether or not that testimony is correct. If it is, then I will want to ask you questions regarding your knowledge of Communist Party activities here. So, first, will you state whether or not the identification of you was correct?

(At this point Mr. Belinky conferred with Mr. Gavin.)

Mr. BELINKY. I respectfully refuse to answer on the grounds that the testimony might incriminate—tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I might say it has been decided by the highest court of the land that it would not be a sufficient legal excuse in answering a question to claim that to answer it might tend to degrade you. However, you have relied upon the fifth amendment, which is recognized by the courts and by this committee as a proper ground for refusing to answer, if you are relying on it in good faith.

Mr. BELINKY. Yes; I am relying on it in good faith.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BELINKY. Same answer, for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KEARNEY. The witness is excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call as the next witness Mr. Samuel Evens.

Will Mr. Samuel Evens come forward, please?

Mr. KEARNEY. Will you stand and hold up your right hand, please?

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. EVENS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL EVENS

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. EVENS. My name is Samuel Evens.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Evens?

Mr. EVENS. I was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., February 15, 1908.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. EVENS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is the practice of the committee to explain to every witness who appears before it that he has the right to counsel, if he so desires it, and that he has a right at any time during the course of his testimony to consult counsel. So, I want to make certain that you understood that.

Mr. EVENS. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand, you do not desire counsel at the moment?

Mr. EVENS. Not at the moment.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation, Mr. Evens?

Mr. EVENS. I am an examiner for the State of New York, in the department of taxation and finance.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been engaged in that work?

Mr. EVENS. I started employment there February 2, 1942, and I am still there at present.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your formal educational training has been?

Mr. EVENS. Public school, high school, and a number of years at evening college.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you complete your college work?

Mr. EVENS. To the best of my knowledge, it was sometime in June 1932.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your record of employment has been since, say, the year 1938?

Mr. EVENS. I was employed in New York with a wholesale and leather finance concern prior to coming to work for the State of New York, and that was prior to 1938. It was sometime either '32 or '33 that I went to work for them, and stayed there until February 2, 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your next employment?

Mr. EVENS. I went to work for the State of New York on February 2, 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you engage in that work?

Mr. EVENS. In Albany, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you come to Albany at that time for the first time?

Mr. EVENS. That's correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain in the State employment in Albany?

Mr. EVENS. Until May 1, 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. After May 1, 1948, how were you employed?

Mr. EVENS. I was transferred to New York, where I took up my duties as an examiner there.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you have been in New York since that time?

Mr. EVENS. Since that time; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. There has been testimony before this committee and the investigation of the staff has also disclosed that you were a member of the Communist Party during the period that you were employed by the State of New York in the city of Albany; is that correct?

Mr. EVENS. That's correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you first join the Communist Party?

Mr. EVENS. In May of 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was about 2 years prior to your coming to the city of Albany?

Mr. EVENS. That's right, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the circumstances under which you first became a member and the group to which you were assigned?

Mr. EVENS. Well, I had been reading a lot about various things in the papers, and I used to hear the Communists talk at street corners, and I began to read some of their literature, and I began to feel that they, at least, offered somewhat of a solution to some of the personal problems that were affecting me.

I was working extremely hard at that time and was getting very little in the way of salary. I had a family to support, and I found the going very difficult and, having heard them at street corners and having read their literature, I came to the conclusion that they were operating in the interests of the American people.

Therefore, one day I just decided I would like to join them, and I went up to some address on New Utrecht Avenue in Brooklyn, and I asked to join the party. I imagine after some preliminary investigation they decided to accept me.

Mr. TAVENNER. What group or unit of the Communist Party was it you were assigned to?

Mr. EVENS. It was a neighborhood branch. What the name was, I couldn't tell you. I don't remember at this point.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain in the Communist Party?

Mr. EVENS. I know I definitely left the Communist Party on May 1, 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which was the date that you left the city of Albany?

All right; let's go back to the time you first joined the party. After you were assigned to a neighborhood group of the Communist Party, were you given any course of instruction or indoctrination into the work of the party?

Mr. EVENS. They had some study groups which met in private homes. I cannot tell you where they met, because I do not remember. The group that met more or less represented new recruits and the ideology of the party was gone over in a general way, and we were asked to give our views of questions, and that was the way the course was run.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall at this time the general character of the literature you say was given to you for study?

Mr. EVENS. Well, there were always pamphlets being issued covering current situations. Then there were pamphlets covering the classical literature put out by the Communist Party, such as Stalinism, Leninism, and various works they had written.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether the History of the Soviet Union was one?

Mr. EVENS. Well, there was one book that is known as the History of the CPU—Soviet Union—but I read that before I enrolled in the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did your participation in Communist Party activities in New York have any bearing of any character upon your being employed in the city of Albany?

Mr. EVENS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your transfer to the city of Albany was entirely independent of any Communist Party membership or activity on your part?

Mr. EVENS. It absolutely had no bearing. I had taken the examination for the job some time in 1937, when I was not a member of the Communist Party, and I was reached for appointment on February 2, 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. After you were transferred to work in Albany, what was the first contact that you had with the Communist Party here?

Mr. EVENS. Well, I received the appointment on a temporary basis, and on April 25, 1942, I was told that the job would be given to me permanently.

I believe that after that a person who is now deceased contacted me and asked me to come around to a meeting of the Communist Party, and I went with him. I believe the meeting was at Italian Hall. I couldn't be quite certain about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall how that individual learned of your Communist Party associations in New York, if he did know of it?

Mr. EVENS. Well, I can only surmise that, because, I may have been in contact with some people in New York and they evidently wrote him that I had been a member in New York, and he had this information, and he came to me and told me that he knew I had been a member and asked me if I would join the party up here.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a result of that invitation, did you join the Communist Party here?

Mr. EVENS. I joined the Communist Party up here.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was in April 1942.

Did you remain a member of the Communist Party in the city of Albany until you left here in May 1948?

Mr. EVENS. That's correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, in a general way, the nature of the work of the Communist Party as you experienced it while you were here?

Mr. EVENS. Well, we would generally meet some time in the Public Hall. During the war I believe the meetings were more public than private because, in general, the Communist Party was one with the aims of the Government prosecuting the war against Germany. So, there was no effort on their part, I believe, at that time to conceal their activities; and later on, toward the end of the war, when the party basically began to disagree with the Government and change its attitude toward the Government, in the sense that it supported Russia rather than the United States, it began to meet in private homes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were those secret meetings?

Mr. EVENS. Well, that's hard to say because we weren't specifically told they were secret. That is, I believe so, but in general I would say that party members would be informed in one way or another. Of course, occasionally you might be asked to bring along somebody who could be trusted.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the organizer for the Communist Party in this area when you first became a member?

Mr. EVENS. When I first became a member?

Mr. TAVENNER. I mean when you first affiliated with the party in Albany.

Mr. EVENS. Oh, there was so many changes of organizers that I am unable to state at present who those organizers were.

The party up here—the group—appeared to be functioning very badly. They couldn't attract any new membership, and whatever it tried fell flat. So, there was constant prodding by someone—who it was, I don't know—to get something done up here, and naturally any organizer that came up here just couldn't make any headway, and the result was they didn't last long enough for me to get to know them.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many Communist Party organizers were there during the period of your membership here, if you can recall?

Mr. EVENS. I wouldn't be too specific about it, but there might have been anywhere from 5 to 10 different organizers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember at this time the names of any of them?

Mr. EVENS. I do not, sir. They changed so rapidly. I may have seen them at one or two meetings, and then I didn't see them again.

Mr. TAVENNER. You state that you met at the homes of the members particularly after the time there seemed to be a divergence in purposes between the Communist Party and the policies of the United States. Will you state the names of the persons in whose homes your group met?

Mr. EVENS. Various homes—Morris Zuckman's, and a number of others. I don't remember them all. I remember the names, but I do not remember just what particular homes we met in. I know—I know a John Davis came up here. Most of the meetings were held in his home. His home became the meeting place for the average—for the meetings that took place after he came up.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you discover during the course of your membership here there were separate groups of the Communist Party here?

Mr. EVENS. There was a lot of talk about setting up separate groups, but they didn't have much success.

There was talk about a Nob Hill group. There was talk about a South End group. They tried to set them up, but they didn't succeed very well. In other words, they might have one meeting, and they just couldn't get together for another 6 months. That would apply particularly to the South End group, but as far as I know the Nob Hill group was never actually in being.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend meetings of various groups that were here?

Mr. EVENS. Well, the group I attended—I don't know what they called it—that was the central group, you might say, I attended I would say 99 percent of the time those were the meetings I attended—were the central group in Albany.

Mr. TAVENNER. The central group?

Mr. EVENS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do not recall the name of the group?

Mr. EVENS. I don't know that it had—the name might be the Albany Communist Party. That would be—

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe as nearly as you can the type of employment of the individuals who made up that group?

Mr. EVENS. Well, there were State employees, housewives, professional men, some businessmen. As far as workers were concerned, to my knowledge there was only one in the time I was up here—that is, an actual person who worked in industry—because the party never seemed to be able to attract that type of person into its ranks.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that one group you spoke of in labor?

Mr. EVENS. Well, what I mean is this was one particular group and it met in various homes.

Mr. TAVENNER. A group has been described here as the professional group, and the testimony was that members of professions and most of the members who were employed by the State belonged to it. Is that the group of which you were a member?

Mr. EVENS. Well, I don't know that they called it a professional group. It was just a general group. In other words, the membership in Albany was so few in numbers that outside of talk in splitting it up in groups, there was no point in having more than one group. What they called it, to the best of my knowledge, would be the Albany Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. What type of profession or occupation did the people who belonged to this group you are describing engage in?

Mr. EVENS. A minority of this group were State employees—that is, from the viewpoint of numbers—but they exercised the effective control of the party.

Mr. SCHERER. Was there any other group that had a larger number within the party here in Albany than the State employees?

Mr. EVENS. Not particularly. They were divided. In other words, the number I knew, which possibly might be around 37—about 10 or 11 were State employees, which would indicate that the State employees themselves were a minority; but, of course, some had their wives belonging to it and then the rest would consist of housewives, and 1 or 2 businessmen, a professional man—I mean about 2 or 3 professional men—and so forth. Actually what happened was that, while the group was of a certain number, most of the meetings would be attended by State employees.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, they comprised the largest single group within the party, did they not?

Mr. EVENS. I believe that is correct, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Although they were in the minority, they composed the largest single group; is that what you are trying to tell us?

Mr. EVENS. That's correct, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. And they dominated the party activities here in Albany?

Mr. EVENS. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many employees were there in your particular branch of government work?

Mr. EVENS. You mean where I was employed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. EVENS. Well, it varied from time to time, but I think at one time it reached as much as 150 people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any special concentration of Communist Party members in that group?

Mr. EVENS. No, sir; I was the only one, plus another fellow, who was a member of the Communist Party. In other words, of the total, of the amount of people in the office, only two were Communists.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any effort made by the Communist Party to attempt to infiltrate any particular branch of the State government?

Mr. EVENS. Well, outside of the ordinary union activity that went on, we had the United Public Workers up there, and they always took the position that they'd like to see the State employees gets a raise. So the union, or through the efforts of fellows like myself—we would pass out leaflets urging the employees to request raises or increases of pay.

Mr. SCHERER. That wasn't hard, was it?

Mr. EVENS. What was that?

Mr. SCHERER. I said that wasn't difficult, was it?

Mr. EVENS. No. I mean, you could always get the State employees to agree to that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, the point I am asking and inquiring about is whether or not, in your judgment, there was any effort of the Communist Party to increase its membership among State employees because they were State employees, or was it because of the opportunities that it gave for developing union work?

Mr. EVENS. If they made any effort to infiltrate, it was through the union, in the sense that if you could get people to do it—join the union—eventually you might be able to get them to understand the Communist point of view; but actually I don't believe any efforts were made—that is, I, personally, wouldn't inject Communist ideology in the office in that sense. That is, to my knowledge, I wouldn't inject it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; but the effort would be made through contacts by party members with the unions among the State employees?

Mr. EVENS. Through the United Public Workers. They would pass out these various leaflets and, of course, trying to interest the employees in bettering their conditions.

Mr. SCHERER. Who was the author of the leaflets?

Mr. EVENS. Well, as far as I know, the union put it out itself, and just where the source of it was I'm unable to state. Of course, they

had contacts with the New York office, and naturally they would get ideas, I imagine, from that source because the union was operating throughout the entire State.

Mr. SCHERER. Of course, that is a legitimate union activity. The question is: Did the Communist group itself dominate the unions here, or that union, particularly the union you are talking about?

Mr. EVENS. I would say that since most of the members were Communists that they did dominate the union here. I mean we had very few State employees in it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Approximately how many State employees were there, to your knowledge, who were members of the Communist Party at any one time while you were here?

Mr. EVENS. In the office were two.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not speaking of just your office.

Mr. EVENS. I would say about 9 or 10. I mean, if I were to enumerate them, I would be more exact.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the number you can recall?

Mr. EVENS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of all of those whom you can recall among the State employees who were known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. EVENS. Am I allowed to refer to notes?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; if you desire.

Mr. EVENS. There was Rena Dodd, Betty Laros, John Wright, and Arthur Wright, who I understand resigned later on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, just a moment. How was Arthur Wright employed? Do you recall?

Mr. EVENS. Well, outside of what I read in the newspapers, I didn't know exactly.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have no recollection of your own as to how he was employed at that time?

Mr. EVENS. No; I knew he was employed by the State, but I didn't know exactly where.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how is it that you know he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EVENS. Well, I sometimes would see him at Communist Party meetings.

Mr. KEARNEY. There was no one outside of Communists allowed at these Communist Party meetings, was there?

Mr. EVENS. That is correct.

Mr. KEARNEY. In other words, that would be a meeting of the Communist Party?

Mr. EVENS. Well, I would say, according to the way you put it, except on very rare occasions the attendance at the party meetings would be that of party members.

Mr. KEARNEY. In other words, what you would call closed meetings?

Mr. EVENS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, do you recall that he took any part in the discussions at the Communist Party meetings at which you saw him?

Mr. EVENS. Well, I would say Arthur Wright was not very active at these meetings. He was a quiet sort of fellow and didn't go in much for discussion.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with John Wright?

Mr. EVENS. I am, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he also a member of the Communist Party group?

Mr. EVENS. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether there was any close relationship between John Wright and Arthur Wright?

Mr. EVENS. I knew they were brothers.

Mr. KEARNEY. But John was not the quiet type?

Mr. EVENS. Well, I mean—that's a matter of interpretation.

Mr. SCHIERER. That is what?

Mr. EVENS. He was considerably more active than his brother, if that is what you mean.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, was John Wright a State employee?

Mr. EVENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I interrupted you in stating the names of those who were members of the Communist Party among State employees. Will you proceed, please?

Mr. EVENS. There was Bill Bottcher, who left the State employ. I don't recollect just when.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me state this to you: If during the period of your membership you had reason to believe that any of the persons whose names you are now giving to the committee withdrew from the Communist Party, I would like for you to state so.

Mr. EVENS. Well, I stated that I believe that Arthur Wright withdrew or resigned. I once met him, and he told me he was resigning. That's as far as it went. I don't recollect whether I ever saw him again at any meetings, but I know that he did tell me he was resigning.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he state the reason?

Mr. EVENS. No, sir; he didn't give me any particular reason.

There was Bill Bottcher. He left the State employ. Whether he resigned or not, I don't know.

There was Irving Gold.

And then there was Leon Shapiro.

When John Davis was forced out or resigned from the Communist Party, Leon Shapiro got pretty mad about the whole thing and he said he was quitting the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did Shapiro get mad about?

Mr. EVENS. I know there was some sort of argument over whether Davis was to exercise leadership or not in the party, outside—of course, I read in the papers—

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, don't state what you read in the papers.

Mr. EVENS. No; I see.

I didn't know exactly with whom Davis had the argument and what it was all about. I didn't know at that time, but I thought that he did have an argument with Morris Zuckman. I don't know of him having an argument with anybody else, and Leon Shapiro was pretty mad about this, and after Davis resigned said he was getting out of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you at that point: Were you personally acquainted with Morris Zuckman?

Mr. EVENS. I was, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any personal knowledge of the dispute that arose between Davis and Zuckman about the control of the party activities?

Mr. EVENS. I had no personal knowledge at that time. It was never told to me. I believe I asked, but nobody ever told me what it was. That's the impression I get now.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, proceed.

Mr. EVENS. Do you want me to continue?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. You are now giving us the names of the persons who were State employees, who were known to you to be members of the Communist Party.

Mr. EVENS. Elias Schwarzbart.

I don't see any others here.

Did I mention David Rappaport?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; you have not. Was he a member?

Mr. EVENS. He was, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee whether or not he was active in the Communist Party affairs?

Mr. EVENS. I would say he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of this group of the Communist Party at the time you left it in May 1948?

Mr. EVENS. I couldn't be certain, sir, but I know he was a member during the time I was there.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you know David Rappaport's wife?

Mr. EVENS. I did.

Mr. SCHERER. Was she a member of the party?

Mr. EVENS. I'm not absolutely certain, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were the wives of any of the other persons you have mentioned members of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. EVENS. Well, I couldn't be certain, but—

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. I don't want you to mention the name of any person you are not certain about.

Mr. EVENS. Well, then, I couldn't say. I couldn't say. I mean, I saw their wives around, but whether they were members, I couldn't say.

Mr. SCHERER. You say you saw them around. You mean at Communist Party meetings?

Mr. EVENS. Well, I may have been introduced to them in a casual way, and I wasn't quite certain whether they were members of the party or not. That is to the best of my memory.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have stated there were housewives who were members of your group of the Communist Party. Possibly if you would tell us who they were at this time it might help us to clear that up.

Mr. EVENS. There was Hannah Shapiro.

Mr. TAVENNER. Hannah Shapiro.

Mr. EVENS. Clara Davis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. Hannah Shapiro was the wife of Leon Shapiro?

Mr. EVENS. Of Leon Shapiro. There was Clara Davis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was her husband?

Mr. EVENS. John Davis was her husband.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. EVENS. Then there was Frances Gordon Itskowitz.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was her husband's name?

Mr. EVENS. Harry Gordon Itskowitz.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Mrs. Gordon was referred to by some other name or some nickname?

Mr. EVENS. Mike.

Mr. TAVENNER. What about Harry Gordon himself?

Mr. EVENS. Well, I understood he was an employee of the Federal Government.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, was he a member of the Communist Party or not?

Mr. EVENS. He was.

Well, then, there was Hilda Geller—G-e-l-l-e-r.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was her husband's name?

Mr. EVENS. Louis Geller.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EVENS. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. EVENS. There was Anna Brickman, who, incidentally, was not very active.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell it, please?

Mr. EVENS. B-r-i-c-k-m-a-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. EVENS. There was Evelyn Goldstein.

There was Sarah Kaufman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. Do you recall the husband of Evelyn Goldstein?

Mr. EVENS. Nathan Goldstein.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Nathan Goldstein a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EVENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a Government employee?

Mr. EVENS. No; he was an upholsterer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether or not you attended a Communist Party meeting in her home?

Mr. EVENS. I think I did. I believe I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall any other circumstances regarding that meeting?

Mr. EVENS. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. As to who attended?

Mr. EVENS. There was nothing unusual in any of the meetings we attended there, outside of the discussions that were always going on.

There was one unusual occasion when I was introduced to John Davis as the new organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. EVENS. There was one occasion I was introduced to John Davis as the new organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did that meeting take place?

Mr. EVENS. At Evelyn Goldstein's house.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, if you will continue with the housewives.

Mr. EVENS. There was Sarah Kaufman.

Then there was Harriet Belinky. I was under the impression that both Harriet Belinky and Sidney Belinky resigned at one time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Resigned from what?

Mr. EVENS. From the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say at one time.

Mr. EVENS. I know they said they were resigning, and I don't recall seeing them around for a long time, if at all, before I left Albany.

I mean, this is something I'm telling you from memory. I'm giving you my impressions as I go along.

There was Flo Cohen, but——

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name?

Mr. EVENS. C-o-h-e-n.

But I don't believe I saw them more than once or twice at Communist Party meetings.

Her husband, Ralph, was in the same category. I may have seen him once or twice.

See, I couldn't pin myself down as to the number of times I saw these people.

And there was one girl there who had something to do with Russian relief. I cannot remember her name at all. Well, she and her husband I assume were members of the Communist Party, but I am unable to remember their names. I know he worked over at the Jewish Center.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. If there is any uncertainty in your mind about their having been members of the group, don't speculate about it.

Mr. EVENS. There was no uncertainty in my mind they were members of the group, but I don't remember their names.

As I said before, his wife had something to do with the Russian relief. She was active in that, and he worked as sort of a physical instructor over at the Jewish Center.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any other housewives who were members of the group you have not named?

Mr. EVENS. I'm not certain in what category to put Amalia Cucchiara or Crago. I know that she was employed at one time either by the Federal or the State. So, I don't know whether to classify her as a housewife.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you are uncertain as to how she should be classified as to employment, but what about membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. EVENS. Well, she was a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is her name?

Mr. EVENS. Amalia Cucchiara or Crago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with her husband?

Mr. EVENS. I was, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his name?

Mr. EVENS. He was known as Joe Cucchiara or Crago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of your Communist group or not?

Mr. EVENS. He was.

Wait—there's another housewife—I don't know if I—there are a couple more there.

Jeanette Dworkin; did I mention her?

And Stella Gold.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the husband of Mrs. Dworkin?

Mr. EVENS. Mike Dworkin.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was he employed; do you know?

Mr. EVENS. I understand he had some connection with the Federal Government. I wasn't quite certain just what it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EVENS. Yes, sir; he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned the name of Stella Gold. What was her husband's name?

Mr. EVENS. Irving Gold.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have previously identified him in your testimony as having been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EVENS. That's correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I see you have a list before you there which you have testified from. Did you prepare that list of names after considering the whole question of membership?

Mr. EVENS. That's correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are there any other persons besides those that you have mentioned who were known to you to be members of the Communist Party in Albany?

Mr. EVENS. Janet Scott.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was she employed?

Mr. EVENS. I understood she was a newspaperwoman.

Mr. EVENS. What was that name?

Mr. EVENS. Janet Scott.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell the first name?

Mr. EVENS. J-a-n-e-t.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether or not she held any office or position in the Communist Party?

Mr. EVENS. None that I can remember. I know she was active, but I don't know she held any particular office.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of her activity, if you can recall?

Mr. EVENS. I'm sorry to say I don't know sir. Outside of the fact she was a newspaperwoman, I didn't know what she did outside the party meetings that we held. She would be there, and she would at times be in the discussions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are there others that you can identify?

Mr. EVENS. There was John Piziomek, a barber. He was very active.

There was Alexander Kolker. He was about the only one in the party who had any connection with industry. He worked in the railroad yards, I believe.

There was Harold Klein. He was not a member of our group directly, but he used to come over from Schenectady and coordinate the activities of the group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he an organizer for the party?

Mr. EVENS. He was an organizer; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was a paid functionary?

Mr. EVENS. I believe so, sir.

There was Kelly Bud Douglas. I know him as Bud Douglas.

Then there was Dr. Louis Lubin.

(Representative Bernard W. Kearney left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. EVENS. I believe I've named all of them, to the best of my ability. Wait a minute—there's Bob Arnold. He was over at the Federal and then he left. I understand he went back to Nebraska.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am sorry. I didn't understand you. Would you give that name again, please?

Mr. EVENS. Bob Arnold. He was also in the Federal service, but he left, and the last I heard was he had gone back to Nebraska.

I've given it to you not in the order which I gave them here; it's conceivable I haven't mentioned someone. So——

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall a person by the name of William Winston?

Mr. EVENS. Yes, sir; I saw him one time.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances?

Mr. EVENS. This, I remember, was a meeting held in Italian Hall, and apparently the Communist Party of New York, to my knowledge, was so distressed over the lack of activity and the inability of the Communist Party to function here that they sent him down. I think it had something to do with the ousting of Earl Browder at that time, and he came down specifically for the purpose of getting the party to rally around the decisions made by the national party in New York, and also to try to get us to be more active, and he lectured us for about a half hour.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall any other occasions when functionaries of the Communist Party came here from New York and took part in your meetings?

Mr. EVENS. Well, there was one fellow, who I believe was a clergyman, who came to see us, and he sort of tied in religion with the Communist ideology, only he didn't quite succeed because nobody seemed to want to believe him. I fail to recall his name. I know that he wrote for the Daily Worker, and that is about all I could say about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was he from?

Mr. EVENS. Well, I know he lived in New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you say he came here, you mean that he came to Albany?

Mr. EVENS. That's correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that on May 1, 1948, you left the Communist Party?

Mr. EVENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were your reasons for leaving the Communist Party?

Mr. EVENS. Well, I began to realize that the policy of the United States and Russia was not in agreement, and I felt rather uneasy about the whole situation, because I felt that, as an American, as a native-born American, I had to place my country's interests first, and I began to have the feeling that the Communist Party was not in accord with the same feeling I had, and I began to realize that after 1945 Russia was forcing other countries under its domination in Europe to become Communist, and they did it through force and violence; and all these things made me feel that I had to think twice about whether I should belong to the Communist Party or not.

(Representative Bernard W. Kearney returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. EVENS. I began to do some reading of my own, which had absolutely no connection with the Communist Party literature, and it gradually became clear to me that the Communist ideas were not quite as valid as I had thought them previously; and I came to the conclusion that our American system, which had been built up by individual initiative and freedom of thought, freedom of religion,

and everything contained in the Bill of Rights, and I felt this had done far more for America than Communist ideology ever could do.

I also realized America had built up a marvelous industrial capacity, something that had never been seen in the world before, and with that capacity to produce America could not go wrong very far. In other words, it had the means by which it could produce every conceivable necessity that the people of this country could want.

And with that thought in mind I began to realize whereas in Europe the Russians were trying to industrialize their country and deny the people the ordinary decencies of life because of the tendency to rapidly industrialize, in the sense they built up far more ammunition than they did goods that were needed by the people for living—I felt that was wrong—that people were on this world in order to live and not to be made sacrifices for a small group.

Of course, it's true that we had a depression in this country, and it was pretty tough on us, and I realized that the American people had taken all that into consideration; they had learned a very valuable lesson from the depression, and that if it were possible they were going to avoid it.

The original reason I joined the Communist Party was, as I said before—I had been working very hard, and under very difficult conditions, and I thought that from what the Communists said that they were trying to make conditions better for the American people in general. They claimed they were in the forefront of the activity to get us social security, unemployment insurance, minimum wage laws, and they claimed they had fought anti-Semitism, and so forth; and I also admired the fact that—I'd rather put it this way: The war in Europe had broken out and Hitler was indulging in an orgy of cruelty that had never existed in the world before. He was murdering people, Jewish people especially, by the millions, and it seemed to me there was no effective voice raised to put a stop to it—and I realized if this went on that sooner or later somebody would have to unite to stop Hitler from gaining world domination; and as he conquered the countries in Europe, I realized there were only two forces in the world that could possibly stop him—and that was America and Russia.

Those were the reasons I joined the party, but as I said before, I realized later on that there were other considerations, such as I explained before, which led me to leave, and I haven't had any contact with the party since.

Mr. SCHERER. You know today the Communist Party—the Communist conspiracy—is anti-Semitic, don't you?

Mr. EVENS. I believe so, sir. I—

Mr. SCHERER. You were originally led to believe it was opposed to anti-Semitism; is that right?

Mr. EVENS. That's right. I was originally led to believe that.

Mr. SCHERER. But the party line has changed, as recent events have established, in that respect?

Mr. EVENS. They may have established that, but eventually their purpose is to do away with religion. Of course, they have a philosophy about it. It may sound attractive at first reading, but on close examination you'll find out it doesn't stand up.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, that philosophy has to be somewhat attractive to attract people to the Soviet conspiracy or the Soviet thoughts?

Mr. EVENS. Naturally; but, personally I have been brought up in the Jewish religion, and I feel there is no force in the world that would make me abandon it, because I still try to maintain certain features of it, such as going to the synagogue on occasion and attending synagogue on the high holidays and observing various things in my home that are a part of the Jewish faith, and such as confirming my son when he is 13—when he was 13. All these things mean far more to me than anything that communism could teach me.

Mr. SCHERER. In other words, while the Communist philosophy on the surface may appear attractive for the purpose of ensnaring people to the Communist ideology, nevertheless, they don't practice what they preach; is that what you mean?

Mr. EVENS. Well, that's the contradiction. It's got a nice wrapper, but underneath the contents aren't so good.

Mr. KEARNEY. I understand, Mr. Evens, after you were subpoenaed, you had a conference with Mr. Keniry, and at that time I understand you told him you were going to cooperate fully with the committee.

Mr. EVENS. I did, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. And you have, and I understand also that you are still working with the State.

Mr. EVENS. That's correct, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, it is individuals like you, who show their cooperation, to whom we like to show our cooperation also, and we certainly intend to advise your superior officers that you have cooperated to the fullest extent with this committee and we are going to do all in our power to see that you do keep working for the State of New York.

It is an act of courage for you to come down here today, and you have shown by your testimony the exact contradiction of several other State employees who came before this committee on previous occasions and who arrogantly refused to answer any questions under their legal entitlements, as they said they were acting in good faith, which the Chair doesn't believe for 1 minute; but I did allow them to refuse to answer, as I felt it was my duty.

However, there is a great comparison between your testimony here today and the testimony of other State officers who resigned by request and who refused to cooperate in any manner.

We think that it is the duty of all good Americans to cooperate with this committee because there is a criminal communistic conspiracy existing in this country. The sooner the people wake up, the better off we are going to be as a Nation.

Are there any further questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. EVENS. May I add something, sir?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes; you certainly can.

Mr. EVENS. I would like to say this: All those people who are members or have been members of the Communist Party—if they would turn around and attempt to reorient their ideas in connection with what they believe about communism, not to feel that this particular idea is the sole existing idea in the world that will provide the salvation, but to turn around and read things written by great men, perhaps even to read the Bible or to read other sources of economics, that they will readily begin to see that perhaps those particular Communist ideas they possess are not as valid as they would like to think.

We are witnessing now in Russia a struggle for power that should convince any except a fanatic that the leaders are not out to operate in the interests of the people in their countries. They, as Time aptly put it—where in the United States we have free elections and you can turn a man out of office when you think he's no longer fit, it's very doubtful if you can do that in Russia except through the process of murder.

If the past week and the happenings in Russia haven't convinced these people, then I say to them that they sooner or later are in for a sad disillusionment; and I honestly feel if they will reconsider their stand, they will realize that they have gotten and will get far more out of America than they could possibly get out of a nation across the sea which is ruled in a dictatorial and arbitrary manner.

Mr. KEARNEY. Thank you:

Mr. Counsel, are there any further witnesses?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. As the chairman of this subcommittee, I would like to make the following statement:

As the subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities completes its present hearings in the city of Albany, there are several matters which I feel should be called to the attention of the public.

Two men occupying responsible positions in locals 471 and 583 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union stated to the press in advance of the hearings that they proposed to appear as voluntary witnesses and give the committee all the facts within their knowledge regarding their past Communist Party activities. There is nothing unusual about the fact that they testified freely and extensively regarding their former Communist Party membership, as this has been done on many other occasions by many other witnesses. However, it is apparent that the leadership and rank-and-file members of these respective locals encouraged these witnesses to take this commendable action. This is a clear indication to the subcommittee that these locals are assuming and will continue to assume their full share of responsibility in disclosing and eradicating the Communist conspiracy in our midst.

The committee has exercised extreme care in conducting its hearings in such manner as not to interfere in any way with internal disputes within a labor union, or in controversies between management and labor. The committee, as often stated, is interested only in the investigation of Communist activities of individuals who, through the manipulations of the Communist Party, have seized positions of leadership in important segments of the social, economic, and political life of this country.

The committee recognizes the complete cooperation extended by the Honorable Thomas E. Dewey, chief executive of the State of New York—and I, personally, would like to add my thanks to the Honorable Patrick J. Keniry for his activities during the past week.

The thanks of the committee and the Congress of the United States is given to the police and security agencies of this area. We are indebted to the United States marshal's office and the police department of Albany, without whose continuing assistance and cooperation it would have been difficult to properly conduct these hearings.

We would also like to express our appreciation to the superintendent of the Federal building, and to the employees of the building, whose unfailing courtesy and help have facilitated the orderly conduct of the work of the committee.

We appreciate the courteous hospitality of the Honorable James T. Foley, United States district judge of the northern district of New York, for permitting us to use his courtroom and other facilities.

To the gentlemen of the press and radio, the committee extends its thanks for giving full, complete, and objective coverage to these hearings.

We are also grateful to the many citizens of the city of Albany and vicinity who have communicated their expressions of confidence and support to this committee in the performance of a difficult task.

The committee hearings now stand adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:20 a. m., the hearing was adjourned.)

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